

**Deanship of Graduate Studies  
Al Quds University**



**PORTRAYAL AND DENIAL: PALESTINIAN FEMALES  
IN THE ISRAELI ENGLISH-LANGUAGE E-NEWSPAPERS**

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Palestinian Females in the Israeli English-Language E-Newspapers**

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## **Declaration**

I certify that this thesis submitted for the degree of Master is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this study (or any part of the name) has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

**Signed:**

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Nida Yousef Ahmad Younis', written over a horizontal line.

**Nida Yousef Ahmad Younis**

Date:

**Aug. 10, 2021**

## **Dedication**

To my beloved father & Mother, may their souls rest in peace;

To my master and husband **Thabet**, in appreciation and acknowledgment of his endless love, care, understanding, resiliency, sacrifice, cooperation, mastermind, and timely support;

To my **Omar, Raghad, and Zeina**; the peers, in appreciation and acknowledgment of their patience, understanding and love;

To **Reema**; not only the sister but the twin of a soul in appreciation and acknowledgment of endless love and support;

To my family for much faith and support;

To all of them, I dedicate this work.

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the role of power/knowledge relations in depicting and deactivating Palestinian females under the Israeli Occupation. Previous Studies thrived to examine framing as an output, an external manifestation. Still, rarely had the internal mechanisms regulating the visual and symbolic space of the Other been cultivated from this unique angle.

Qualitative content analysis conjured with analytical interpretive hermeneutic dimension technique obtained through an “integrated interdisciplinary approach of discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used. This intricate approach aimed at examining the Israeli news reporting of Palestinian females in two major Israeli ideologically “at odds” newspapers: Haaretz and Yedioth Ahronoth (Ynet). The researcher analyzed discursive hegemony structures in (86) news articles: (50) from Haaretz and (36) from Ynet over 2016 to understand how racism or ethnic-racial dominance is reproduced through an institutional ideology/power-resolved discursive structures. The study pursues different approaches to framing: the Foucauldian knowledge/power resolved discursive constructions; argumentation and dramatization.

In addition to the Israeli-modified classic colonial model of Othering, the study resolved into a new model of discursive building of the Other: The New Other. The classic model works in an Israeli-colonial resolved context under three categorizations: The Other, the elite subaltern challenging Other, and the non-compliant Other. Under variant frame constructions: the oriental, occidental, terror, Islamic terror, psychological, homo festive frames, inter alia others, hegemonic discursive structures are constructed through variant linguistic tools: time placements, linguistic structures, simulacra (negative images), ambivalence, mimicry, confessional discourse, semantic transformations/shifts, emotional amplification, reduction and simplification, change of the shape, etc. Both newspapers reserve the right to commentary and control of the access to discourse. This regulates the spaces of circulation and its continuity. Unlike the classic model, the “New Other” model which constructs the Palestinian Other under ideological-resolved discursive tools and cultural hegemony adopts new categorizations: the new generation and the old. Haaretz adopts a vacuum-deposited shape memory and melting approach; Ynet adopts a denial approach.

Haaretz and Yet ‘s discourse is structured, hegemonic, and ground rooted in terms of exclusion. They use the same discursive tools in variant proportions in both the classic and new model; differences are a matter of ideological preferences - where ideology is a mirror of institutional power; where institutional discursive limitations and constraints are biding. The weight of distribution of these tools makes the difference

## التأطير والإنكار: التظهير البصري للفلسطينيات في الصحافة الإسرائيلية الإلكترونية الناطقة بالإنجليزية

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### الملخص

سعت هذه الدراسة إلى فهم كيفية عمل علاقات القوة والمعرفة في تظهير وتأطير صورة المرأة الفلسطينية تحت الاحتلال الإسرائيلي. عمدت الدراسات السابقة الى دراسة التأطير كتظهير خارجي، بينما تقتر البنى والتشكيلات الخطابية الداخلية التي تنظم الفضاء البصري والرمزي الى دراسات كافية خصوصاً في السياق الكولونيالي الإسرائيلي من هذه الزاوية. استناداً الى تحليل المحتوى النوعي بالإضافة الى تقنيات تحليلية ذات بعد تفسيري استندت الى نهج "تكاملي" يجمع بين تحليل الخطاب (DA) وتحليل الخطاب النقدي (CDA)، قامت الدراسة بتحليل البنى الخطابية لاختلاق الآخر في (86) مقالاً إخبارياً عملت على إنتاج المعرفة عن النساء الفلسطينيات خلال 2016 في صحيفتين إسرائيليتين رئيسيتين "متناقضتين أيديولوجياً": (50) مقالا من هآرتس و(36) من يديعوت احرونوت، وذلك لفهم مدى الاختلاف في وكيفية عمل هذه الصحف على إعادة إنتاج العنصرية والهيمنة العرقية من خلال أيديولوجية مؤسسية وقيود خطابية فرضتها سلطات الخطاب الإسرائيلية لاختلاق الآخر والهيمنة عليه. اتبعت الدراسة منهجاً غير تقليدي لدراسة التأطير وهي تجريدات القوة والمعرفة الفوكوية، الحجاج. والدراما.

بالإضافة إلى توظيف النموذج الكولونيالي الكلاسيكي المعدل اسرائيليا لعلاقات القوة والمعرفة في اختلاق الآخر، خرجت الدراسة بنموذج جديد لبناء التابع خطابيا وهو "الآخر الجديد". يعمل النموذج الكلاسيكي الذي يستدعي تراثاً من أبنية الهيمنة الخطابية الاستعمارية المعدلة لإسرائيليا والتي درجت القوى الاستعمارية على بنائها لاختلاق الآخر المستعمر تحت ثلاثة تصنيفات: الآخر والتابع النخبوي والتابع النخبوي غير المطيع والتي تعمد بنسب متفاوتة الى توظيف مجموعة من الأطر التي تعمل كمسندات في الماكينة الخطابية الاستعمارية مثل الاستشراق، الاستغراب، الإرهاب، الإرهاب الإسلامي، والمشاكل النفسية، والأطر الاحتقالية (الانسان الاحتقالي) ونزع الإنسانية والتكرارات، من بين أخرى؛ كما اعتمدت الأبنية الخطابية التي تعمل من خلال الموضوعة الزمنية والصور السلبية وأنظمة التصنيف المهينة، والمجاز والتنميط والاستبدال اللفظية والسياقية، وإرادة الحقيقة، والتحكم في الدخول الى الخطاب والاستبعاد واسبقية المعرفة والتناص وأدوات الضبط والتأديب والإصلاح (تمفصل مزدوج) مثل خطاب الاعتراف والمحاكاة والازدواجية، والتناقض، والتحويلات الدلالية والسياقية، والتضخيم الانفعالي، والاختزال والتبسيط، وتغيير الشكل، إلخ. تحتفظ كلتا الصحيفتين بالحق في التعليق والتحكم في الدخول إلى الخطاب ما يجعلها تتحكم في آليات تداول الخطاب واستمراريته. خلاف النموذج الكلاسيكي، تتبنى الصحيفتان منهجاً جديداً لاختلاق الآخر الجديد او الفلسطيني الجديد في ظل أدوات خطابية تشكلت بموجب توجهات أيديولوجية وهيمنة ثقافية؛ تعمل الابنية الخطابية لهذا النموذج تحت تصنيف جديد للمستعمر وهو الجيل الجديد والقديم. تتبنى هآرتس نهج التفريغ الذاكراتي والتدوين، فيما تتبنى يديعوت احرونوت نهج الإنكار.

وجدت الدراسة ان الابنية الخطابية لـ"هآرتس" و"يديعوت احرونوت" مبنية ومهيمنة ومتجذرة في ممارسات الإقصاء، اذ تستخدم كلتا الصحيفتان نفس ادوات الهيمنة والسيطرة الخطابية لتشكيل ابنية خطابية تساهم في تشكيل واختلاق الآخر سواء بالمفهوم الكلاسيكي او الجديد. تتمحور الاختلافات حول التفضيلات المرتبطة بالمعطى الايديولوجي الذي تتبناه كل صحيفة وحيث تشتغل الأيديولوجية كشكل مرآوي لسلطات الخطاب وتستلزم بذلك جملة من القيود الخطابية المؤسسية. يُحدث اختلاف توزيع الثقل الأدوات الفرق بين الصحيفتين.

# Definitions

**Discourse and Reality:** The discursive is a "socially constructed reality which constructs both the real and the symbolic and the distinction between them. It assigns structure to the real at the same time as it is a product and a moment of real structures' (Frow, 1985, 200). The meaning is dependent on "discursive structures" which are manipulated by a "combined force of institutional and cultural pressure, together with the intrinsic structure of discourse" (Mills, 1997,54). The structural discursive constraints and limits work on the 'delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts or theories' (Foucault, 1977, 199). Those discursive structures are, for Foucault, what make objects and events appear to us to be real or material (Mills, 1997, 51).

**The colonial discourse:** "an ensemble of linguistically-based practices unified in their common deployment in the management of colonial relationships . . . Underlying the idea of colonial discourse . . . is the presumption that during the colonial period large parts of the non-European world were produced for Europe through a discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis, and kinds of writing and imagery "(Hulme, 1986: 2).

**Hegemony: it** is a representation of dominance where ideologies of power are "distilled into the shared forms that seem to have such a historical longevity" with clear effects, mainly on society (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2008, 30). Henri Tajfel (1979,7) proposed that "our social history is filled with familiar and terrifying examples of "the dehumanization of external groups". Add to this, Van Dijk (1988, 9-38) acknowledged that "the hegemonic forces [are] inherent in social reality; where the "ideologies of some dominated groups, a 'false consciousness that may result from manipulative hegemony, in which the own group is represented as negative concerning dominant groups, as would be the case for forms of interiorized racism" (Dijk, 1998, 73).

Anat First (1998, 241) argues that stereotyping forms a "discursive strategy in the national identity which lay the ideological construction of the portrayal of others". For

more illustration, Jean and John Comaroff (2008, 28) defined hegemony as the “order of signs and material practices, drawn from a specific cultural field, that comes to be taken for granted as the natural, universal, and true shape of a social being. Edward Said (1976, 41) investigated the system of discourse that distinguished people into the human “we” and non-human “others” as part of the cultural dominance, where, according to Bhabha (2012, 78) “the colonized are most often objects of hate”.

**Dominance:** according to Van Dijk is “a form of social power abuse, that is, as a legally or morally illegitimate exercise of control over others in one's interests, often resulting in social inequality”; social power is, in turn, a “control exercised by one group or organization (or its ‘members) over the actions and/or the minds of (the members of) another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies ... it may be `distributed””. “Understanding of these major concepts relates to the cognitive dimension of control; “through special access to, and control over the mean of public discourse and communication, dominant groups or institutions may influence the structures of text and talk” that would “as a result, the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values, and ideologies of recipients are – more or less indirectly affected in the interest of the dominant group” (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996, 85).

**Terror:** it is “an epistemological object” defined by modernity and attributed to the “nonmodern” and “nonliterate framework of liberal politics” where liberal states combat non-state terrorists (Asad, 2003, 2-3 as cited in Maira, 2009). Where state terror, called counterinsurgency, is often justified “by distinctions between premodern and modern subjects, “civilized people” who deserve “rights” versus those who are evicted from the modern political community”, the loyal citizens-subjects versus enemy aliens; as evident in a long history of “vilification, deportation, and incarceration of targeted groups” (ibid, 2009, 633) Palestinians, in this context.

**The “Other”:** The Other is a “designatory negative image; a face value as an “exotic spectacle” is regarded and narrated to produce a positive image of the colonizer where the colonial power is embodied” (Mills, 1997). “The foreigner, the stranger, that person occupying the space of the subaltern in the culturally asymmetrical power relation, but

also those elements or dimensions of the self that unsettle or decenter the ego's dominant, self-enclosed territorialized identity" (Schutte, 1998, 54).

**Stereotypes:** it is the mass knowledge about the Others (Said, 1978). It is a discursive process where "the colonized are reduced to being seen as objects of knowledge"; rather "being an anecdote, it is authorized as part of a larger accretive knowledge system which characterized colonized nations as inferior and as subhuman" (Mills, 1997, 108, 111). They are "pictures in our heads" of the social groups (Lippman, 1922); they are a collection of associations that link a target group to a set of descriptive characteristics' (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 81). They are a vehicle for dominant groups to assert their power and control (Fiske, 1993, 621–28). In themselves, they are a way to maintain power because it underlines the ability of those holding power to determine how to portray those who do not' (Browne, 1994, 8). As three ways by which stereotypes work for constructing reality were elaborated: classifications, the of traits and characteristics, and generalizations, Homi K. Bhabha (2012) distinguished two layers of stereotypes elaborated to designate the "other": the first works on the level of "narrating the nation" and the second on the level of "nation's colonial relations".

## **List of Abbreviations**

ISAs: Ideological State Apparatuses

RSAs: Repressive State Apparatus

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

MD: Media Discourse (analysis)

Ynet: Yediot Ahronoth



## Chapter 1: Background and Introduction

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Media, as an ideological state apparatus, produces not only news but also individuals as subjects who are dramatically alienated and interpellated (Butler, 1997). News values are represented as part of the agencies that actively reproduce social order: the exceptional, then, arises out of conservatism, which defines acceptable behavior” (Sela-Shayovitz, 2007, 199). Relying on the productivity of the discourse theory “because it is concerned with theorizing power”, building upon “discourse and ideology, the way that discourse is conceptualized allows for this sense of the complexity of power relations” ( Mills, 1997, 78) It is a commercialization where the representation of reality is reduced to ideology, a tool of simulacra construction or a semiological imaginary where signs swallow the real and reconstruct subjects, (Baudrillard, 1981). Submission and substitution of the Other to reproduce the real shows how the personal becomes political (Mills, 1997, 78). Subjugation happens by trying to “grasp subjection in its material instance as a constitution of subjects”; construction of reality and knowing how subjects and perceivers accept “their ideological self-constitution as "reality" or "nature" (Foucault, 1980; 97, Felluga, 2002).

This chapter presents the background and introduction of the study (section 1.1) and (section 1.2), respectively. It outlines research motivation and problem statement (section 1.3), and the significance of the study (Section 1.4) (Section1.5 )describes the scope and limitations of this research, (Section 1.6 )presents the research questions; (Section 1.7) unfolds the hypothesis; and finally, (Section1.8) includes an outline of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

## 1.1 BACKGROUND

In capturing and visualizing light projection, the photographic film or paper is treated to produce a negative or positive image; thus, the latent image is turned visible (Keller et al., 2005). This particular process takes place in newsrooms where ideological visualization treatments transform subjects into images and reconceptualize or adapt them to authority needs; “all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects” (Althusser,1971;115). Borders between reality and simulacra “an image without resemblance”, for Gilles Deleuze, “diminishes the more as we step into the world through the lens of hyperreal media images of ourselves” (Hamlyn, 1992, 295; Boorstin, 1992, 49). These copies are inherently constructed under generalized political economy i.e. commercialization; where the representation of reality is reduced to ideology, a tool of simulacra construction (Baudrillard, 1981).

It is subjectivity that “takes on an ideological function not only because of the ideological character of the symbolic but also because of the representation of the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) in it”; which along with Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) exercise their power (Sadjadi, 2010; 158). Accordingly, submission and substitution of the Other would occur either by physical violence or symbolic violence; the latter, a pursue of this study.

By its definition, ideology is a permanent medium of delusion, it is “a set of representations of imaginary reality - not reality itself – but a mythical one that “expresses the imaginary relationship of men to their real conditions of existence. inherent in their immediate experience” (ibid, 2010; 109). Under this definition, language is ideological as it “reproduces the conditions in which the Symbolic becomes ideological” and it “cannot be considered in

isolation; it only exists in the theoretical or ideological framework in which it is used” (Sadjadi, 2010; 158).

Drawing on discourse as a ground for power relations, argumentation, and dramatization, the researcher is not trying to investigate how subjugation happens; this is an attempt to “grasp subjection in its material instance as a constitution of subjects” and “construction of reality”. It is further a strive to know how subjects and perceivers accept “their ideological self-constitution as "reality" or "nature" (Foucault, 1980, 97; Felluga, 2002). This is deluded by embracing the “Foucauldian account of discourse professing” and how agents of power can communicate knowledge and formulate truths” or masquerade reality; “it is equally important to interrogate the Israeli media discourses which comprise wider social constructions and, for Foucault, is maintained via powerful actors with the ability to masquerade certain truths into the public consciousness” (Foucault, 1980; Kirk, 2020,3). The Foucauldian “subjection” can be better examined under the Althusserian reading of the Lacanian alienation. “Subjection to many signifiers in the process of linguistic alienation is a dramatic unconscious interpellation” where “subject’s identity is the result of the subject’s identification with the signifiers (Sadjadi, 2010; 158).

Building on the “symbolic reproduction in domination beyond the conscious interpretive and structural consideration of power and its domination in the formation of interests and ideas” (Özgör, 2016, 21), hegemonic practices have become less reliant on repressiveness; more dependent on symbolic violence. This non-physical type of violence serves to stabilize states and hegemonic powers through different means; inter alia, ideology; it is invisible and manifests legal monopoly of power by subjective conscious consent on anarchical structures (Bourdieu, 2007).

Media, an ideological state apparatus, produces not only news i.e. language, but also individuals as subjects who are dramatically alienated and interpellated (Butler, 1997). In turn, this leads to a change of the appearance/figure-ground of the subjects; it produces images that can injure. Values of the news” are represented as part of the agencies that actively reproduce social order: the exceptional, then, arises out of a conservatism, which defines acceptable behavior” (Sela-Shayovitz, 2007, 199).

## 1.2 INTRODUCTION

Gayatri Spivak observes that "Something called terror is needed to declare a war on it; a war that extends from the curtailment of civil liberties to indefinite augmentation of military self-permission. Without the word terror, this range of things, alibied in the name of women, cannot be legitimized” (2004, 91).

Still, “there is no war without representation” Key to the nature of a long history of American and European colonial practices of superiority, exclusion, surveillance, and legitimated torture of other nations, Israel (the Occidental) adopts the same two binary frames based on the liberal definition of terror: the civilized and the barbaric (Maira, 2009). It builds upon the distinction between “us” the civilized and “them” the savage inferior and terrorists to consolidate control, disciplinary practices, and hegemony.

To clarify, in the long history of settler colonization in Israeli and elsewhere, binary classification of civilized and barbarians, superior and inferior, divinely mandated people and goyim <sup>1</sup> are led by imperative patriotism practiced by discourse structures and symbolic

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<sup>1</sup> derogatory Jewish naming of the non-Jew “others” and usually connected to anti-Semitism see <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/goyim>: and <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/the-goyim-knowshut-it->

violence that deepen these dichotomies, inter alia other repressive measures. Besides the role of these “foundational myths [the dichotomies] ... to underwrite discourses about barbarism and civilization that legitim[ize] the occupation .... and the regulation, surveillance, and torture, dichotomies are inspired by a "need to create a juridical mentality that professes some sort of divine mandate to legitimize [the settlers'] presence on indigenous land"; by dividing chosen peoples from uncivilized savages” (ibid, 2009; Salaita, 2005, 154).

In a more precise context, the power to Otherize, the power to stereotype, which are vehemently embedded in the majority of cultural domination, are in themselves a way to maintain power. Stereotypes can undermine the ability of those holding power to determine how to portray those who do not” (Browne, 1994, 8). During conflicts, the subaltern is gazed at; they see and are seen; in other words, they are a “subject of surveillance” and observation. This “provokes wide-ranging forms of resistance, predicted by the operations of power “ where “visibility [is] in the trap” (Rogoff, 1998, 24). The “centrality of vision and the visual world in types of power relations within culture” would articulate new objects of knowledge that are constituted under “thorny politics of historic specificity which must be considered to avoid the vacuum of meaning or creating new realities (ibid, 1998, 24).

Space, knowledge, and authority are interwoven in the Foucauldian theorizations of power and hegemony. Foucault argues that heterotopias are real spaces where things are put in a succession of violent displacement. There are different types of heterotopias – including but

not limited to, the heterotopias of crises <sup>2</sup>, heterotopias of deviation <sup>3</sup>, heterotopias of illusion<sup>4</sup> and heterotopias of compensation <sup>5</sup>. By their types and functions in the society and the synchrony of the culture in which they take place, they would function as spaces of exclusion and illusion; this manifests in different geographies (Foucault, & Miskowiec, 1986, 24-27; Mirzoeff, 2002, 235, 229-236).

The Orient, Palestine included, has been a space where “the determined inhabitants of the space” are opposed, is “a garden, an astonishing creation” which “had very deep and seemingly superimposed meanings” (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986, 22, 25). Foucault “wonders if some colonies have not functioned somewhat in this manner”; none did. He asserts that “in certain cases, they have played, on the level of the general organization of terrestrial space, the role of heterotopias” or those puritan societies which exactly reproduce eschatology, myth, hegemony, etc. in “spaces of displacement” (Mirzoeff, 2002, 235).

Considering the Israeli media apparatuses as an ISA’s and the virtual space they replicate themselves through i.e. cyber and social media spaces; drawing on Foucault’s very basic idea of mirror following Windy Hui Kyong Chun, those ISAs would work both as utopia and heterotopia. As a utopia, The Israeli ISAs make the colonized - none other than the Palestinians, “there where [they] are not, where [they] are not in the unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface ... a sort of shadow that gives [their] own visibility to

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<sup>2</sup> *It takes place in primitive societies and has no specific form where sacred, privileged, or forbidden places are reserved for individuals. It is without geographical borders as the allocated places function as if in nowhere (Mirzoeff, 2002)*

<sup>3</sup> *It is replacing that of crisis. Individuals whose behaviour is deviant to norms and required practices are placed in exclusion like prisons, psychiatric hospitals, etc. It is a kind of disciplinary practice.*

<sup>4</sup> *It looks as simple and pure opening*

<sup>5</sup> *It functions in between extreme poles: the role of heterotopias in creating a real, perfect and well-arranged space of the “We”: an amid the “Other’s” messy, ill-constructed spaces.*

[themselves]. As a heterotopia, those ISAs would make “this place that [they] occupy at the moment when [they] look at [themselves] in the glass at once absolutely real, connected to all the space that surrounds [them], and unreal” (Mirzoeff, 2002, 244). Specifically saying, Piper’s notion that “cyber enables virtual passing” translates in this context, not in terms of voluntarily self-centric passing but into a passing by the force of power to make visual representations of the Other (Piper, 1992). This perfectly matches Foucault’s glossing over “the fact that this placing of pure order simultaneously obfuscates. ... if not annihilates other spaces/places already in existence. Namely, [the] native” peoples (Mirzoeff, 2002, 246).

Considering the nature of language itself, word-image would serve as “a system of negative differentiation” when considering meaning constructions (Rogoff, 1998, 25). In this context, language, discourse and communication would produce and maintain a network of stereotypical and racist ideologies via mass media (Gandy, 1998; Browne, 1994). Network relations are structured on hegemony where "formal and informal mechanisms are constructed and maintained by the colonial power" (Nacos, 2005; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2012, 106), leading to illusive pluralism and hegemonic identity (Elias et al., 2009).

In colonial contexts, textuality covers the privatization of discourse systems used for embedding discrimination (Childs & Williams, 2014); stereotyping becomes “part of the maintenance of the social and symbolic order. It "sets up a symbolic frontier between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', Us and Them” (Hall, 1997,258). In such a hot context, incitement becomes a cultural phenomenon (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2009) that can be best comprehended by interpreting and examining the rules and policies of events and speeches underlying them. To use Fairclough’s words “language ... is socially shaped, but also socially shaping (Fairclough, 1995, 55). It is a “visual culture and visual images as go-betweens in social

transactions, as a repertoire of screen images or templates that structure our encounters with other human beings”(Mitchell, 2002, 176).

The colonial discourse entails several norms and judgments which produced “texts about colonized countries” which “cannot be attributed simply to the individual author’s beliefs, but are rather due to larger-scale belief systems structured by discursive frameworks, and are given credibility and force by the power relations found in imperialism” (Mills, 1997, 106). These representations, in turn, “were structured largely according to certain discursive formats” which “accrued truth-value to themselves through usage and familiarity and “reinforced particular stereotypical images and ways of thinking” (ibid, 1997, 107). They further “informed racist knowledge and practices, constructing the grounds within which debates about race were largely conducted and the typologies within which indigenous people and their descendants were forced to be categorized and to categorize themselves (Young, 1995). The colonized countries were reduced to mere tools of knowledge which were produced under stereotyping, othering and generalizations as part of the oriental deep frames or under western/Israeli centric standards under the basic notion of Occidentalism. These discursive factorizations had often produced simulacra.

Gender has been a core element to preserve colonialism and describe power relations under this hegemonic authority, “imperialism cannot be understood without a theory of gender power. Gender power was not the superficial patina of empire, an ephemeral gloss over the more decisive mechanisms of class and race. Rather, gender dynamics were, from the outset, fundamental to the securing and maintenance of the imperial enterprise” (McClintock, 1995, 6-7). Power relations are analyzed considering women as “individuals and as members of groups negotiate relations of power”; as the personal becomes political (Mills, 1997, 78). It becomes structural for the complex colonial strategies of power that transports women’s

matters which must be negotiated in private to be political. Foucault has isolated certain types of discourse that help considering “women’s access to discourse, and conflicts between discursive structures: the confessional and the discourse of femininity” (Mills, 1997, 80). Nonetheless, with a strong political focus due to the specificity of the colonial context under which the struggle over representation is taking place which will contribute to modifying Foucault’s discursive model, we hypothesize, and the feminist theory use of the theory of discourse in a mere feminist perspective: subjectivity and subjection.

Comprising a gender-race intersection, this research investigates new approaches to framing other than the framing theory and relevant literature methodologies. It cultivates a theoretical framework that establishes for investigating power relationships and hegemony in the media which provides a grounding mechanism for the management of the symbolic space and the figure/ground alterations. As to understand the role of dramatization and argumentation in a colonial context as a tool of control, we hypothesize that the study of power and hegemony relations becomes necessary; they act as a background for the Gestalt of the Israeli Palestinian conflict while the dramatized news behaves as a shocking interface for this Gestalt. This accordingly distorts and/or destroys and reproduces the prototype image of Palestinian women and their identities.

Therefore, the premises of power and nomenclature, Foucault's abstractions and theories of power, the practices of the concept of power by Van Dijk, will be employed to find out how meaning/image is constructed through the analysis of **speech as an image** through three unconventional framing tools: the discursive constraints and limitations under power/knowledge matrix, argumentation, and dramatization. Despite “talks about the death of newspapers, the social networks take the lead”, it is argued, “these media and more are marked by a high degree of shared corporate ownership, shared professional norms and

practices, shared content, and shared objectives” (Ross & Lester, 2011, 1). Yet, the same applies when we talk about the social media official pages of these newspapers, a sampling repertoire of this study. The news reporting Palestinian women will be studied in the right-wing Yediot Aharonot newspaper and the left-wing Haaretz on Facebook during 2016, which culminates in Palestinian women's use of their bodies as a tool of resistance, and thus, can provide factual material on how the Israeli newspapers story-tell Palestinian women under the power/knowledge matrix of the Israeli occupation.

### **1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Pivotal to my work on the Israeli incitement, I noticed that the Palestinian females in the Israeli media are negatively depicted. For example, the Israeli media constitutes a medium for “vigorous media discourse that addresses terrorism through the lens of gender” (Banks, 2019, 1). Much focus is given to “social conditions, discrimination, and hardships experienced by a given group” i.e. the Palestinian females in this context (Hearne, 2009, 4). A considerable number of researches tackled the portrayal of Palestinian women in foreign newspapers (Muddaakh, 2018), and the portrayal of Arab women in the western media (Nacos, 2005; Berkowitz, 2005; Friedman, 2008). Current studies are mostly molded under the frame theory; under the lens of political/Islamic terrorism (Israeli, 2004), patriarchy and chauvinism (Sela-Shayovitz, 2007; Margolin, 2019; Sela-Shayovitz et al., 2007; Margolin, 2016), and pathological disorders (Lavie-Dinur et al., 2013a; Lavie-Dinur et al., 2013b; Lavie-Dinur et al., 2015). Notwithstanding; researches in the field of the portrayal industry of Palestinian women in the Israeli media are still lacking. It is that the Palestinian females have never been addressed as women of everyday life or even given enough consideration. Their suffering under occupation and the colonial context is overlooked; new negative meanings are given to conflict-related terminology such as legitimate struggle, right to resist,

etc. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, there are no researches on the internal mechanisms regulating the visual and symbolic space of the Palestinian females in the Israeli media and knowledge production under power/knowledge relations.

#### **1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

For majority of researches in the literature review, there was no interest in measuring the tone of how discursive constructions in the Israeli media work under power relations and colonial ideology-resolved news reporting; neither was there an interest in tracking an Israeli colonial model of power relations that reveals subjection in its non-material and virtual instance and constitute the colonized subjects; a major contribution of this study.

However, most of the researches used content and context analysis. Naturally, these methodologies stand short of linking to the context and relation of the analyzed material. Despite being widely used in relevant researches, the framing theory can only investigate reality/meaning representations as outcomes. It stands short from understanding in-text constructions of meaning and reality.

This study cultivates this particular issue on how the Israeli media discourse is orchestrated to visually represent the Palestinian women under colonial practices; it gives a discursive scalpel to dissect the image mutilations under power relations. In an attempt to “grasp subjection in its material instance as a constitution of subjects” and construction of reality through “Palestinianess” and to know how subjects and perceivers accept “their ideological self-constitution as "reality" or "nature" (Foucault, 1980; 97, Felluga, 2002)

The main contribution of this study to the existing literature in the field is that it examines the Israeli newspaper’s discursive constructions through knowledge/power resolved

discursive constructions, and dramatization giving special attention to constructions of exclusion, classifications, confessional discourse, discursive constraints, inter-alia the linguistic structuring of the Other. It investigates how argumentations are created to delimit the colonial objects, provide justifications, legitimize the colonial hegemonic practices and fixing the perspective for the agent of knowledge, and norms of elaboration of concepts or theories. In the same vein, it investigates how can reporting under power relations reproduce Palestinian female image and identity through ground figure alteration. It takes the argumentative theory and dramatization theory into a wider perception as discursive constituents and the Foucauldian theorizations in the field into a more political potential.

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no earlier research has cultivated the portrayal of Palestinian females in the Israeli media from this unique angle. This study is expected to link feminism and colonial Israeli occupation power matrix practices, an uncultivated area from this unique angle.

It is of interest to find how the Israeli media plays a role in the Other model industry under power relations from a new perspective i.e., denial through the portrayal.

**THIS WILL BE SIGNIFICANT AS:**

- It will allow a contribution to the fields of both Cultural & Media Studies, subaltern studies and Gender Politics.
- It will redound to understanding the industry and commercialization of negative meanings, metamorphose of Palestinian Females in the Israeli newspapers, and the construction of Others' identity through discursive constituents, constraints and supportive mechanisms:
- This study is significant for using new approaches for framing including Foucault's Theory of Discourse, the Argumentative Theory and the Theory of Dramatization; an

approach that have not been cultivated so far from this unique angle. The proposed theoretical approach gives tools to understand disciplinary and power practices through discursive structures and figure-ground alteration and contexts destruction; major constituents of the above-mentioned theorizations.

- This study will be significant for, unlike concurrent researches in the field, moving new approaches to the frame suggested by the theoretical framework of this study into the second level of application: the colonial contexts as power and hegemony structures and shaping. It will upgrade the use of frame projection practices i.e. using ready-made Occidental frames, terrorism, archetypes, Orientalism, ethnocentric frames, gendered frames, etc., and even ideology to power practices under the Foucauldian discursive constituents and constraints. Despite different contexts; the colonial occupation and hegemonic power practices are alienated and masqueraded from researches in the field.
- This study aims at expanding Foucault's theorizations into the colonial context, the Israeli in particular which has long been silenced and the subaltern studies to wider aspects other than inclusion and exclusion. It expands Van-Dijk's and the colonial theory examination of the role of the discourse of editorials from arguing politically for the control over black people, and the reproduction of white colonial dominance to other media coverage forms i.e. news reports: article and opinions; and in a new context other than black/white racism to a colonial racist and biased context i.e. the colonial.
- This study aims at expanding the Foucauldian heterotopia to embrace Occidentalism and Orientalism; and to highlight figure-ground alterations in frame, reality, and identity reproduction.

## 1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of this study extends over a multidisciplinary area of research: (post) colonialism, multi-racial feminism, colonial studies, cultural studies, media discourse analysis and new audience studies. It covers cultural power and gender politics of representations of Palestinian women.

Only data available for the period a year (2016) are scrapped. The study takes the news articles and opinions published onto the official pages of the English-speaking Israeli newspapers: Haaretz and Ynet which are republished concurrently onto Facebook and Twitter; this provides a unique opportunity to study not only e-print media but also the cyberspace

Other journalistic types, photos, and videos are not part of this discursive structures' analysis nor other specialization fields like the pedagogical, the religious, the official. settlers, etc. Racist speech against other components of the Palestinian society is not part of this study scope. They can be areas of investigation for future research work.

## 1.6 RESERCH QUESTIONS

To understand how the discursive constructions of the Israeli media reproduce and manipulate **the visual and symbolic space of the Palestinian females** under power relations, **this** study explores this major research question:” **How and to what extent does the discursive constructions of the Israeli media work under power relations to portray Palestinian females and keep the produced knowledge in circulation? .**

**I referred to lay these sub-questions:**

**RQ1:** How are the Palestinian females are Othered and spoken for? How can the ritualization and materialization of truth create models of categorizing the Palestinian females' Others in Haaretz and Ynet?

**RQ2:** How can linguistic and discursive structures of Haaretz and Ynet contribute to foster identity and reality constructions by changing the frames to legitimize the Israeli occupation's wide range of ethnic-rational hegemonic practices alibied in the name of Palestinian females?

**RQ3:** For all of the above questions, can any difference be found amongst the two ideologically "at odd "newspapers?

## **1.7 HYPOTHEISIS**

**In line with the theoretical background, we hypothesize that:**

**H1:** The Israeli newspapers embed a model of power relations that builds upon an innovative regime of in-text framing tools.

**H2-** The Israeli newspapers embeds a regime of ethnic-racist, discursively constitutes for exclusion which is part of the Othering industry. It delimitates the Other and defines a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge.

**H3:** The Israeli newspapers has fixed norms for the elaboration of identities and validation of territorial claims and denial of the “Other”; feeding on symbolic violence. The colonial ideological-resolved discursive depiction of the Palestinian woman can give evidence on power-resolved practices to both addresses deeper

aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and support both Israeli territorial claims and statements of denial.

**H4:** Despite the "salient difference", there are no differences in terms of the Israeli newspapers discourse structure of right and left-wing newspapers. Discourse is structured, hegemonic, and ground rooted in terms of exclusion.

## **1.8 THESIS OUTLINE**

The present study consists of five chapters

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background: This chapter outlines the objectives of the program of research, including the definitions of the key concepts and hypothesis; it gives a brief outline of the background and research approach and contextualizes the proposed research

Chapter 2: Literature Review: This chapter demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the area and provides arguments that focus and delineate various theoretical positions and from these to develop a conceptual framework for the generation of hypotheses and setting up the research question.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology: This chapter outlines the design and methodology of the research. The basis for the choice of research method should that answers the research questions. It provides the methods that were used for collecting data and the techniques to be used for testing the hypotheses.

Chapter 4: Analysis: This chapter presents findings and interprets the Results. Factual and interpretive material is interwoven to provide interpretation, inference, or evaluation of the results. It provides analysis and anthropological investigations, full discussion, interpretation, and evaluation of the results regarding the literature. This chapter can also

include theory building with the theoretical framework. Research outcomes are tied together with the theory, review of the literature, and rationale.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: These chapter conclusions, limitations, and recommendations – so what is the theory? Where to from here? What are the practical implications? Discussion of where the study may be extended

## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework & Literature Review**

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This chapter begins with a historical background (Section 2.1) and the theoretical framework (Section 2.2) literature Review (section 2.3) on the following topics: [Colonial Spaces and Skins] (section 2.3.1) [ which provides an intensive review of previous researches and academic work on colonial visual regimes of colonization]; [Discourse, Knowledge and Power Matrix: a feminist Perspective] (Section 2.3.2) [ which provides an intensive review of previous researches and academic work on the decentring of the centre and construction of indigenous people]; [Foreign media Coverage of Palestinian Females] (Section 2.3.3) [which provides an intensive review of previous researches and academic work on foreign media depiction of the image of the Palestinian women] and [Israeli News Coverage of Palestinian Females] (Section 2.3.4), [which provides an intensive review of previous researches and academic work on the Israeli heterotopic and occidental colonial ideology-resolved Israeli news reporting of Palestinian females. Meanwhile, (Section 2.4) highlights the implications from the literature and the conceptual framework for further development of the research design.

### **2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: DECENTRALIZING COLONIALISM**

The Israeli researcher Irit Rogoff says that Israel has repopulated the space with “obstacles and unknown images, the illusion of transparency collapses as for “space is always differentiated, it is sexual or racist” (Rogoff, 1998, 33). Under “unacknowledged ways to legitimize acts of violence against the indigenous Palestinians and Arab Jews”; under a hybridity of role shift between the victim and perpetrator, or what is called sacrificial

masochism<sup>6</sup>; under supremacy and re-whitening of the migrant heritage, the “Holocaust is linked to the specter of European fascism and becomes the index of all political terror and its consequences, imposing once again a Eurocentric index of measure and political identity on the very concept of political horror” it produces “racially marked bodies” (Rogoff, 1998, 35). These images of the Face of the “Other”, or the gaze in Lacan and Sartre terms, i.e. “Stereotypes, caricatures, classificatory figures, search images, mappings of the visible body, of the social spaces - in which it appears “ are “the filters through which we recognize and of course, misrecognize other people is constructed” and social constructions are replayed (Mitchell, 2002, 176). The Other is represented in two ways: proxy (the political representation) and the portrait (the discursive representation) (Spivak, 1994). The colonial gaze produces the portrait of the other or the Face in Levinas remarks which is inherently violent (Drichel, 2012, 7). It is the “visual culture and visual images as go-betweens in social transactions, as a repertoire of screen images or templates that structure our encounters with other human beings”(Mitchell, 2002, 176).

Frantz Fanon stresses that race, a social construction, is “added to our bodies by the careful surveillance” (ibid, 112). Stuart Hall calls this “inferential racism,” which he describes as “those naturalized representations of events and situations relating to race, whether ‘factual’ or ‘fictional,’ which have racist premises and propositions inscribed in them as a set of unquestioned assumptions. These enable racist statements to be formulated without ever bringing into awareness the racist predicates on which these statements are grounded” (Hall, 2021, 12-13).

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<sup>6</sup> Susan Handelman, for example, remarks that in Levinas’s later writings “the terms he uses to describe subjectivity and responsibility often become disturbing: trauma, wounding, hostage, obsession, persecution, sacrifice without reserve.” Susan Handelman, “Facing the Other: Levinas, Perelman, Rosenzweig,” in *Divine Aporia: Postmodern Conversations about the Other*, ed. John C. Hawley (London: Associated University Press, 2000), 277.

In the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, there is a combination between two spins: Occidentalism, a Western-centric Israeli end-goal, and racial stereotyping that diverges into different manifestations by the Israeli media.

In his article Johannes Becke (2014) “Towards a de-Occidental perspective on Israel: The case of the occupation” investigated an approach to de-occidentalized Israel. The Israeli State which mirrors the Orientalization of the Jews in Europe, the researcher argues, “underwent a process of Occidentalization – a phenomenon most apparent in depictions of Jewish diaspora nationalism as a form of European settler-colonialism” (Becke, 2014,1). He investigated Israel’s territorial expansion after 1967; he traced common Occidental motifs like the systematic dislocation of Israel from its particular era and region, the neglect of Palestinian resistance, and the failure to develop a regionally comparative perspective.

The researcher outlined two terms referred to as Occidentalism: the Latin American “Westernism” and “post-Westernism” which is understood “not [as] the reverse of Orientalism but its condition of possibility, its dark side (as in a mirror)” (Mignolo, 2009, 94; Coronil, 1992, 46). This concept switches the focus from stereotypical representations of the Orient to the colonial image itself where “images of the Occident that underwrite their representations of non- Western societies, whether in the Orient or elsewhere” (Becke, 2014; Coronil, 1992, 56). The other definition predates the ignition of the Palestinian Israeli conflict; it is a “process of alienation and objectification of the West into a kind of ur-explanation, in which specific issues and concerns are blended into a cultural definition of otherness applicable to every and all situations.” (Joffé, 2007, 170). The Israelis “have been defining themselves largely in response to western influence and domination. The result is “hybrid” discourses of identity, and these may reflect local social and cultural patterns rather

than any traditions that the occidental observer may deem “oriental”; a “claim that is hidden under cultural superiority and unfettered rights to land in Palestine” (Kalmar & Penslar, 2021, 6,19).

A “close reading of the recent historiography of Israel’s occupation uncovers three trademarks of Occidentalism – a tendency to situate Israel outside of history; a systematic neglect of Palestinian resistance as “heroic but vain”; and deep-seated exceptionalism (Sicher, 2011, 25; Becke, 2014, 2). Discursive patterns are interwoven in discursive structures related to representing Palestinian. To de-occidentalize, this Israeli thinking, the whole definition of the Jewish state would reconceptualize it as “a post-colonial state in the Middle East” (Becke, 2014, 2).

Occidentalism lays the grounds for a phototropic and contextual understanding of the discursive background of the representations of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in general and media reporting of Palestinian women's issues. It contributes by default of its definition an objective presentation of Israel and an exclusion of the Otherwhere specific issues and concerns are mixed in its cultural definition; the Palestinian (Joffé, 2007). Israeli practice where the common binary motifs of Occidentalism, culturally non-specific, is conceptually “translated and localized into the discursive structures of such diverse frameworks” of the Palestinian context as for ‘the soulless cosmopolitan city is contrasted to the authentic village of “natives,” the self-interested materialist merchant to the self-sacrificing warrior, the scientific-rationalist mind to holistic-intuitive spirituality, and moral degeneracy to hard-earned puritanical virtue” (Becke, 2014, 4)

This study is mainly concerned with the dual connotation of the term; still, an acute concentration is paid to discourse: language and texts, a superstructure, so that to avoid any concentration on the Israeli colonialism as mere racial and discriminatory practices.

In a different but complementary perspective, the Israeli media, an ISA, has long worked as a platform of deliberate incitement; it has been an effective manufacturer of “we” and “other” and of “stereotypical images” (Gordon et al., 1990; First, 1998; 241). It generates what Stuart Hall calls ‘a circuit of culture’, or how artificially constructed imagery is viewed as ‘truth’ over time by media consumers (Stuart Hall, 1997b, 24–27). It is media that gives “meaning to specific events by selectively choosing the words and images that describe the events. In turn, the meaning of an event is framed as the only possible meaning and we organize our conduct, attitude, and belief system accordingly” (ibid. 24–27). Iconicity and the heavy-impact commercialization of the produced images would function as a surfing board for depicting new images of the “Other” and constructing new realities. Vehemently, they function as a medium for ground/figure alterations and consumptions.

The post-modern colonial discourse “looks for the possibilities of using non-totalizing concepts of difference rather than “the consensual, ethnocentric notion of the pluralistic existence of cultural diversity” (Bhabha 1994, 177 as cited in Schutte, 1998)). This discourse reveals “rules of controlling representation constructions and interests of the dominant in political and military struggles”; where, building on Lyotard’s debate with Habermas, the “will to one truth has yielded the totalitarian Regime of Terror” (Schutte, 1998; 56).

Discursive practices constitute the very “selves” that have experiences; the marginalized and historic narratives which draw on them accordingly “reinscribe the assumptions about identities, differences, and autonomous subjects that underlie available discourses’ (Stone-Mediatore, 1998, 116). Still, vision is not an” immediate contact with an outside world but is always already mediated by discursive categories; yet this “seeing” of the world (now

understood to be ideologically constituted) to be all of experience” (Stone-Mediatore, 1998, 121).

In these situations, there is a need to “see beyond surface appearances, a need to grasp deeper structures and patterns that motivate words and deeds, need a feeling thinking awareness that bypasses preconceived ideas and maybe representable initially only in images or symbols” (Nye, 1998,111). In Spivak’s terms: the epistemic violence; or the second representation of the other at the level in the sense of discursive representation or “portrait” (Spivak, 1994). The portrait of the Other which is “produced by the colonial gaze” and is inherently violent, is turned in Levinas remarks into what he calls the Face of the Other or the plastic representation under which the violent life-like representations lie (Drichel, 2012, 7). Under spectacle, the seen becomes an object (Mirzoeff, 2002, 248). In Orientalism, Edward Said uses the term textual attitudes or metaphors of sight and vision of stock of Western narratives instead of the term “the gaze”; this refers to "the journey, the history, the fable, the stereotype, the polemical confrontation"—as "the lenses through which the Orient is experienced"(Said, 1995, 58).

These representations strip the living specificity of the Other who is “portrayed,” which means that s/he “go into “copies,” “exempla”: shadows that destroy the uniqueness of the unique and return it — an individual — to the generality, the extension of a genus. Opening of the very “order” in which resemblance reigns or is disseminated” (Drichel, 2012, 123). This puts into risk “not only giving up “reflections on the status of political representation,” but giving up political representation per se: a loss which would call into question the cultural other’s rallying around a shared “us” or “them” of community, of solidarity against the oppressor, that arguably remains necessary for the political negotiation of postcolonial

resistance” (Drichel, 2012, 28). These representations, Jean Baudrillard asserts, are no longer a question of “the map, the double or concept”, rather, it is the “precession of the Simulacra; models of a real without origin or reality, a hyperreal” (Mirzoeff, 2002, 145). They turn into a "system of truth", where the domain of things defines discursive practices, legitimizes viewpoints and gives adds to the development of concepts (Foucault, 1971). Intertwined and reciprocal, in Merleau-Ponty terms, they would be the ‘stage’ and the ‘staging’ or the figure and the ground, where the “spectator that would be on each side’ (Merleau-Ponty, 1968, 263).

They work as tools of subjugation; “the narration eats its own tail” where “the reversible relation between seer and seen describes an intermeshing of self and world, of subject and object” (Dennis, 2011, 177; Fizell, 2018, 1). The seer can become the seen; the perceiver becomes the perceived (Merleau-Ponty, 1968). Thus, this relation is inferred not only by the body but also by media technology which is the scenery and space of alteration between the touch and the touched as it becomes the infrastructure that produces awareness, meaning, and reality. This phenomenological technique “a virtual techno-body” acts as a performative act drawing on Habermas - whose “works show a troublesome ambivalence with regards to the possibility that individuals can participate as ‘unencumbered selves’ to the public life of their community. As a consequence, his account turns a blind eye to certain dynamics of power in our society” counted for by Foucault (Martire, 2012, 123).

Turning into visual bodies, the body, in this case, exceeds the philosophical notion to involvement to spectacularism, where it becomes inverted; informed with” installation of false universals’, interested ideologies that are made to pass as neutral and naturally occurring facts”; and controlled (Downing, 2000: 13 as cited in Yang, 2016, 79). In fact, Merleau-Ponty asserts that “in visual experience, which pushes objectification further

than does tactile experience, we can, at least at first sight, flatter ourselves that we constitute the world, because it presents us with a[n] spectacle spread out before us at a distance, and gives us the illusion of being immediately present everywhere and being situated nowhere (Drake, 2003, 393).

Differences in the level of involvement never eliminate indulgence in spectacularism (Shurafa, 2007). Media apparatuses become disciplinary tools, accordingly. The Israeli stereotyping, delegitimization inter alia other exclusion representations to construct the "Palestinianess"<sup>7</sup> has started long before the Nakba and turned more negative even after concluding peace agreements; evidently, Palestinian women were the most stereotyped (Bartal & Teichman, 2009). As part of the prolonged Israeli–Palestinian conflict, the Israeli Media has always acted as a platform for intentional incitement; the spread of racism and hatred is not only worrying in terms of “depth and breadth” but also for being a “powerful shaper of public opinion and a legitimizer of racist culture” (Gordon et al., 1990, 53). Media “has proved potent means of manufacturing the We-feeling ...[and] the stereotypes of the other” (First, 1998, 241).

Considering how can media coverage tell the “image of that reality in that media” (Lemish, 2000, 110); “the role of media language in shaping and promoting real attitudes of hostility and hatred, and conversely, how cultural and media tendencies shape hate speech in the

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<sup>7</sup> *This is a counter term to Israeliness; an image, positive, a concept highlighted by researchers such as First defined the Palestinians as a minority, the methodology was elaborated accordingly. Elias, Jamal and Soker (2009) researched two popular reality shows in the Israeli TV and deconstructed the meta-narratives and sophisticated mechanisms of stigmatization that excluded, a priori, both the Palestinian minority in Israel and the Jewish immigrant especially from Arab countries revealing much about the elite hegemonic "Israeliness".*

media” can provide a grounding startup for investigating the amplification of deep frames under a colonial and Oriental meaning and identity production mechanisms (Drożdż, 2016).

Evidence to “different forms of control into a timeless depiction of all-encompassing and pervasive super-complexes of control”, the Foucauldian theorizations in this regard are effective (Zureik, 2011,3–46). They work simultaneously under classical and deep framing structuring; the latter, a pursue of this research.

## **2.2 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Many researchers theorized and researched well about racism in culture and media. They had broached hegemony in culture (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2008; Tajfel, 1979; Van Dijk, 1992; Bhabha, 2012; Simmon Cottle, 2000); slant and bias in media (Entman, 2007; Rhodebeck, 1998); and theories on media coverage of racism and portrayals (Barakso & Schaffner, 2006; Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997; Lemish, 2000; Saeed, 2007; First, 1998). Cottle highlights the role media plays in exposing the “unequal social relations and the play of cultural power” (Cottle, 2000, 2). His approach is further constructed on the “Us” and “Them” typology of opposed identities that uses stocks of stereotypes. He elaborates on relevant media research theories: namely; the structuralism and cultural studies known for emphasizing the linguistic regime of truth and its “textual determinism, cultural relativism, and political idealism” (ibid, 2000). Gabriel suggests the theoretical model of “whiteness” which is a “monolithic” “pathological” discourse that aims at creating a homogenous culture and people. It best examines the roles of new media in entrenching stereotyping (Gabriel, 1998).

Building upon social constructionism, the framing theory which was used within journalism as a narrative structure that is intended to “prioritize some facts or developments over others,

thereby promoting one particular interpretation of events” (Norris et al., 2003, 11). It is mostly used by researches in the field of media coverage of racism and portrayals (Barakso & Schaffner, 2006; Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997; Lemish, 2000; Saeed, 2007; First, 1998) and has been developed into Entman’s frame bias theory. This development has further proceeded beyond the consideration of pinpointing explanatory stereotyping media news frames i.e. “events, issues, and political actors” and their deployment into “contextual frameworks of reference” to show how “slant and bias provide insight into how the media influence the distribution of power” (Rhodebeck, 1998; Entman, 2007, 163). The framing theory and related works analyzes the hegemonic practice of serotyping, othering and bias as outcomes, a result; the surface manifestations. It explains not the construction techniques, the in-text factorizing techniques, pre-circulation ideological and power constraints and relations.

On his part, Fiske, who elaborates on Foucault’s ‘regime of truth, focused on the power displays of cultural representations which best fits hyper-real ‘media events or “visual media”. Van-Dijk's suggested an analytical approach of “new(s) racism” which fits well with the communicated racism, either written or spoken as proposed by the argumentative theory, a sub-theory of the theory of discourse. It argues that discourse has a role in the reproduction of racism (Van Dijk, 1992). Noticeably, these theories tackle stereotypes against the black, immigrants, diasporas; but not the colonial occupation context and the hegemonic stereotypical regime of power and discipline practices, especially through the ideological apparatuses of the states, media in this context. This gap has been further asserted by Bhabha who argues that few studies yielded the colonial context into the examination (Bhabha, 2012); especially as for virtual identity metamorphoses through simulacra and power relation constructions; through discursive structures, limitations and constraints.

In the same vein, many theorists have tried to take the feminist theory into more political focus (Smith, 1990; Mills, 1993). They strived “to make some of the political potentials of the theorizing of discourse more overt than Foucault did”; still, subjectivity and subjection, major concerns of the feminist theory were not easily tackled without modifications to the discourse theory”, this was possible “by setting it more clearly in its social context and by examining the possibilities of negotiating with these discursive structures”, an approach that might not make this theory possible in our research (ibid, 1997, 102). It makes “constructing political agendas and courses of action far more difficult” and allows for understanding social change and the role of women as agents; not a major concern of our study. A “Psychoanalytic rather than discourse theory” was alternatively approached “for a model of Subjectivity” and further attempts to “marry” both approaches were pursued; which is also not a concern of our study. (McClintock, 1995; Sara Mills, 1997, 77, 102-104).

The Colonial Discourse Theory builds upon Edward Said’s fusion of the Gramscian political works with Foucault's Discourse Theory. Said theorizes upon the “homogenizing views of colonial texts”; an assumption that can be refuted under the lens of the conflicting discourses ( Said,1978; Said et al., 1993). The post-colonial discourse theory, best approached by Bhabha, Spivak, and Chakravorty, builds upon “psychoanalytical theory rather than discourse theory, which is more concerned with the effects the colonial enterprise has had on current social structures and discursive formations”, a far-considered approach to our study (Bhabha, 1994; Spivak & Chakravorty, 1988).

In trying to move beyond the structuralist and to bridge the abovementioned gaps, we apply a triangulation of three theories to visualize different scenes and observe the rich dynamics of discourse analysis of meaning and visual representation constructions. Still, our study which examines the nexus between the discriminatory and dehumanizing Othering practices

of the Israeli Occupation media practices and reality construction building upon the discourse theory which has been particularly productive because of its concern with theorizing power (Mills, 1997, 78).

The contributions of the colonial theorization in founding notions for “the systematic nature of representations” and the “way that colonized countries were Othered by the colonial powers” and the post-colonial theory critique of the homogeneity of Said’s notion of discourse are constituents to our study methodological framework and analysis.

The use of one or more theories in research studies is important to link the theoretical and practical frameworks. The theoretical framework of this study on the Foucauldian theorization on the Theory of discourse is, at the core; the Argumentative Theory and the Drama Theory work in subordination. The latter would elevate the discussion on the framing through the contribution of discursive power matrix and discursive structure’s selectivity to create simulacra; a negative portrayal.

### **2.2.1 (Foucault’s) Theory of Discourse**

The Theory of Discourse includes a wide spectrum of theories that build on the Foucauldian theorizations on knowledge, power and reality. It primarily addresses the logical discursive constructions that reveal power and knowledge and how they are used as meaning/ figure construction tools under the Feminist, Orientalist and Colonial Discourse Theories. Theoreticians tried to make discourse intensively work in political circumstances; the Foucauldian theorizations on discourse were adapted accordingly (Miles, 2016, 88).

The Foucauldian structural analysis relies upon the core of determining the structures that govern discourse production and the field of discourse or discipline; a range of abstract

networks and subordinate tools - discursive network operations, that give the discursive meaning of the components concerning the discipline (Mills, 1997). Discourse in Foucault's sense is not the translation of systems of domination and struggle but "the thing for which and by which there is a struggle" (Foucault as quoted in Macdonell, 1986, 97). Under a colonial hegemony, things, plants as discussed by Pratt, are classified under an international (occidental) system; the indigenous people's classification is replaced and given a colonial naming (Partt, 1992). This best exemplifies Foucault's contribution of the patterns of logical thinking that can explain how does the linguistic classification frame the world by the power of the name, or eradicate the original cultural naming and construct alternative logical discourse narrations. There are three different ways of "ordering through and producing discourse. The first was organized around "resemblances" between things that were captured in language; the second was based on "representation" through a discourse that mirrored the world, and the third was organized around the figure of "man", a figure that stands simultaneously inside and outside knowledge, as both knowing subject and known object. interpretation is dependent on these logical discursive patterns" (Garland, 2014, 370).

For Barthes, virtual images or figures occur "without any order, for each occasion they depend on an (internal and external) "accident" where subjects draw on the image-repertoire (the saurus) of figures where" no logic links the figures, determines their contiguity; the figures are non-syntagmatic, non-narrative"; and "the figure is outlined (like a sign) and memorable (like an image)" (Barthes,1978, 7,4)". It is in the colonial context that 'signs' unlike Terry Lovell remarks can be "permitted to swallow up their referents" (Lovell 1980: 16 as cited in Mills, 1997). This grounds for reality investigation in Foucault post-theorizations on the present reality and "revaluing of values" and contemporary practices and institutions emerged out of specific struggles, conflicts, alliances, and exercises of power" (Garland, 2014, 372). The figures which are perceived by definition of absent of reality dis-

reality i.e. perception without configuration (Barthes, 1978), would give a breakthrough to “understand our present reality and the forms of truth and subjectivity to which the present gives rise” (Garland, 2014, 372). This shall not be attainable without understanding the origins or the genealogy of the original uses or meanings; where “Genealogy . . . seeks to reestablish the various systems of subjection: not the anticipatory power of meaning but the hazardous play of dominations” i.e. the struggles, displacements and power practices especially in colonial contexts” (Foucault, 1978, 148).

Drawing on Foucault who remained “quiet silent on the ways power operated in colonial arena”, postcolonial thinkers argue that “argue that the way we frame events necessarily involves relations of power that serve dominant interests” (Fernández & Esteves, 2017, 137 ; Young, 1995). Taking the Israeli colonialization – overlooked mostly, to a wider context of understanding the logical frames or structures/ the origins of the tools; media tools in this research, within which we are thinking will reveal power/knowledge patterns and figure constructions; in particular.

The analysis of the Foucauldian Logical discursive constructions and constraints which circulate and keep discourse alive would include (Foucault, 1972; Foucault, 1978) includes:

- Knowledge- the criteria of formation: Within a given discursive formation, knowledge detects the changes which affect the objects, the operations, the concepts, the theoretical options occurrences. The epistemic is not a sort of grand underlying theory, it is a space of dispersion, it is an open field of relationships and no doubt indefinitely describable.
- The new form of localization and circulation of the discourse in society: it includes inter, intra and extra dependencies that relate to a displacement of boundaries which define the field of possible objects; new position and a new role of the speaking subject in the discourse; new function of language concerning objects.

The constituents of discourse include:

- The Discourse: “groups of statements themselves. A discourse is a set of sanctioned statements which have some institutionalized force, which means that they have a profound influence on the way that individuals act and think” (Mills, 1997, 62).
- The records: the description of the record includes the limits and forms of conversation, memory, reactivation, and appropriation. This aims to track the changes by exclusion or inclusion (the analysis of languages as systems of representative signs
- Exclusion within discourses: it includes topics, subjects and false/true knowledge.

The law of existence of the terms, that which has rendered them possible - they and no other in their place: the conditions of their particular emergence; their correlation with other previous or simultaneous events, discursive or not. It is organized around “resemblances”, “representation” and the figure of “man”. As for limitations, this includes the discourse circulation techniques :the internal mechanisms such as commentary, the notion of the academic discipline and the rarefaction of the discourse and disciplinary practices including the confessional discourse which is used to build the compliant subjects; the other of the other. This might generate certain amount of “certain amount of resistance to oppression” (Mills, 1997, 82).

Relying on the definition of the colonial discourse (See chapter one, section 1-9), a vivid analysis can be achieved following the Norman Fairclough Discourse Analysis Model which discusses texts as part of social events. He argues that some events can be highly non-textual and textual. He investigates how the relation between texts, social practices, and social structures; naturally complex, is mediated (Fairclough, 2003).

## 2.2.2 Van Dijk's Argumentative Theory & Critical Discourse Analysis

Following previous works on “the portrayal of ethnic minorities in the media” (Hartmann & Husband, 1974; Merten, et al. 1986; Martindale, 1986 cited in Dijk, 1992, 243), and the “role of discourse in the reproduction of racism”, Van Dijk proposed the Argumentative Theory. It is a sub-theory of the theory of Discourse and compared to the theory of narrative. In core, argumentations are part of discourse constructions that best serves the thrive of this research: understanding meaning and identity constructions. It found that media reproduces minorities or alien outgroups in topotypical and racist terms - who are often associated with conflicts and threats; ingroups are reported with positive self-presentation (ibid, 1992, 243). To understand the ideological and racist believes assumptions of the “us” discourse, “discourse access is a primary condition for the manufacture of consent, and therefore the most effective way to exercise power and dominance” (Van Dijk, 1996). This approach relates to the cognitive dimension of control, the use of specific discourse structures to manipulate mental models (Van Dijk, 1990). If access to other information is denied or an unequally distributed access is prevailing, preferred models of specific ideologies, attitudes and knowledge shall be formed and generalized and geared towards the minds of recipients (Ibid, 1996, 85).

What reads as the heading of each figure is not its definition but its argument; a subordinate theory that will contribute to understanding meaning (figure and identity) constructions in this study. To assist; Barthes defines argumentation as "exposition, account, summary, plot outline, invented narrative"(Barthes, 1978, 5).

Knowledge (believes) are encoded in the argumentative structures, these beliefs are called models, parts or fragments of these models might be expressed to mirror general, social

shared, belief structures (scripts, attitudes, values, norms, ideologies); links between models and general beliefs which are used sometimes to show that instantiated beliefs must be true or plausible (Van Dijk, 1992, 247). In all cases, argumentations are necessarily biased by public social position; more importantly, they are ideological and directed towards the public as part of media discursive group-persuasion strategies. The argumentation theory helps to understand “the discursive structures of argumentation ... [and] their functional roles in the communicative manipulation of other minds in socio-cultural contexts” (Van Dijk, 1992, 248). These “discursive frameworks”, set of discourses, “demarcate the boundaries within which we can negotiate” (Mills, 1997, 18)

### **2.2.3 The Dramatization Theory**

This theory exceptionally fits in as a procedural dimension which forms the perception of objects by the ‘delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts or theories’ (Foucault, 1977a: 199). By “changing the frame” i.e. the focus between the figure and the background, “issues of political discourse become assimilated into and absorbed by the modes and contents of entertainment” (Babin,1995, 31). This theory was proposed by Pierre Babin in 1991 mainly to investigate production techniques in theatre and drama series. It builds upon excitement and sudden release of excitement which is a common practice of control by “feeding anticipation”. As for dramatization, it means special processing of the language that aims at creating emotional stress followed by the relation which causes entertainment and consequently interest. This makes “sex, drugs, and violence dramatic as much as major tabloid headlines”; to dramatize is to “change the frame” (Babin,1995, 49, 31).

Pierre Babin Dramatization Theory, widely applied in theatre and cinema studies, is integrated into this research as an internal discursive construction tool. It works alongside the discursive structures to explore how the internal discursive constructions of the figure-ground alteration and masquerading; a major concept of the theory work to interplay the gestalt of the Palestinian Israeli conflict by changing the frames to depict the image of the Other i.e., the Palestinian females in the Israeli e-print and how it constitutes for truth-claims; a field that has not been cultivated from this unique angle to the best of the researcher knowledge. This theory contributes to understanding the disciplinary Foucauldian knowledge/power practices and the “many ways how power, knowledge, and subjectivity are mutually related”. Knowing that Foucault “work was quite silent about how they connect with the colonial experience”, this theory is believed a contribution (Fernández & Esteves, 2017).

How is the speech dramatized? A simple event one among the extant is chosen and amplified because it is expected on part of the audience and achieves triumph and power. This works beyond the clear field of consciousness; “consensus” accordingly is “formed mainly by the amplification of existing societal expectations and attitudes (Sela-Shayovitz, 2007b, 201). An emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal event is turned into a minor event and disseminated through several *forms of mass* media and gives it what Babin described as the new form which is, in turn, becomes variant, contradictory and incontinent (Babin,1995). Ideology overwhelms.

To delve into the scenery, Habermas suggests that “besides personalization, the dramatization of events, the simplification of complex matters, and the vivid polarization of conflicts promote civic privatism and a mood of anti-politics” (Habermas, 2006, 422). The amplification of discursive structures; the use of emotional effects and deep frames shifts and

cemented colonial ideology are pursued. It is that when reading a book, “words which carry the ideology are more effective than the papers (Babin,1995, 31).

Words, the ideological holder, intensifies emotions through several framing techniques amplification, contradiction, simplification of complex matters, vivid polarization of conflicts, change of shape, and emotional amplification where “the formation of the image is manifested in the production of language that stimulates and nourishes the imaginary latent repertoire of the audience knowledge, through its structure, forms and rhythms” (ibid,1995,49). This mirrors what Gaston Bachelard calls the "imagined powers".

Drama feeds upon emotion i.e., dramatization implies an intensification of emotions during tensions and releasing it sorely afterward. In this sense, sex, drugs, and violence are dramatic acts just as they are the major headlines on front pages of newspapers”; they promote the irrationality of the news by manipulating the dramatized object and turning it into a spectacle (Ibid. 1995, 49). This is realized and is manifested through symbolic violence. Accordingly; the game of focus starts with the figure portrayal construction or background style against which any particular thing can appear and contiguous relationships, structures on the semantic shifts of meaning, and therefore it is considered an integral part of its policies.

Dramatization tools include:

- 1- Amplification which relates to choosing the background that will give value to the event. It is about creating a contrast between the top and the bottom and the big and the small.
- 2- Contradiction: It occurs when abruptly moving between two contradictory scenes to create a contrast with the event what will happen; permitting *anticipation* of the *future* in Merleau-Ponty's *philosophy of horizons*.

- 3- Simplification: it relates to juxtaposes that highlight subtle differences. It reduces the conflict into well-patterned oppositional dichotomies; steering the audience into negative portrayals such as terrorists.
- 4- Change of shape: a mixture of enlargement, contradiction, and simplification. This leads to the destruction of the original prototype and replacement with ready-made archetypes with an ultimate aim of control over the portrayed; discipline in the Foucauldian sense.
- 5- Emotional amplification: it revolves around controlling the tragedy and reproducing it through the informative medium. This is realized by the publishing of urgent nature “facts” that alternate consciousness.

For Babin, electronic mass communication fosters the vicious circles of tension caused by the reproduction of symbols and turning them into irrational indifference (Babin,1995, 55-57). As newspapers are part of mass communication, this contributes to the importance of this theory to our study.

Metaphorically speaking, drawing on photography scenes visualization techniques analysis terminology, this theory enables us to study figure-ground alteration techniques, visual meaning construction tools, as for “scattering, specular reflections, diffuse interreflections, diffraction, [ideological and power] caustics, and subsurface scattering” of Palestinian female portrayals in the Israeli print (Velten et al., 2016, 79).

### **2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW**

This section includes a comprehensive literature review on colonial spaces and skins; discourse, knowledge and Power Matrix: a feminist prescriptive, news coverage of

Palestinian women perpetrators in the Israeli and foreign media. It provides an intensive review of previous researches and academic work on colonial visual regimes of colonization and the decentering of the center and construction of indigenous people. In pursue, the theoretical issues are useful to explore the Israeli media behavior in terms of how the Israeli heterotopic and occidental colonial ideology resolved Israeli news reporting of Palestinian females.

### **2.3.1 Colonial Spaces and Skins**

In these essays, then, I want to examine how such visual regimes of colonization might play out in the literature. In his article on “Visual regimes of colonization: European and Aboriginal seeing in Australia” Terry Smith (2014) argues that colonialism is immersed in productive visual colonization: photographs, maps, etc.; this is very important in explaining defining and justifying the colonial order. It identifies three practices: “calibration, obliteration, and symbolization (especially, aestheticization)”. He argues that the picturing has been intent in the colonial cartography; it depicts “pure” landscape from a disinterested and disembodied viewpoint.

The oriental reality has been the core work of Timothy Mitchell’s essay “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order”. (1992). He argues that the spectacle, a Western obsession, has been a major tool for cataloguing the Others as objects. This visual arrangement as representations, the exhibitionary order, of elements of race and racial difference, actually reduces the world into a system of objects. The external reality through the representation apparatuses so essential to the colonial project and the regime of ordering and the [l]ace of spectacle is characterized by: essentialism, otherness, and absence. A larger meaning is structured “before the observing subject is allowed into the system of signification, declaring itself to be a mere

object, a mere signifier of something further”; rendering truth and cultural differences into objective form. The deliberate difference in time and displacement in space which separate representation from reality define the degree of certainty of representation.

### **2.3.2 Discourse, knowledge and Power Matrix: a Feminist Prescriptive**

Among the few critics to have begun to explore the potential, “Silencing Colonialism: Foucault and the International” is one of the significant publications in the field. In this chapter of *Foucault and the Modern International*. Marta Fernández and Paulo Esteves (2017) examine post-colonial perspectives drawing on Foucault's strategies of power, subjectivity, and techniques of knowledge. Realizing that the colonial experience in constituting the international society is overlooked despite being indebted in his writings; the writers develop a critique for understanding global European politics, implications, and how they developed under “modernity”. The end of the European dualism: embracing the world and eschatology (law of the Christ) through decolonization completed the transformation into a singular regime of sovereignty. These systems of exclusion created niches for others.

The criminal and the deranged person took up the niche previously occupied by the leper, the members of each of these circles were characterized alternatively through time. A new dyad emerged replacing the old regime that had distinguished the “civilized” sovereign states from their uncivilized dependences. States, following several sovereignty techniques, were upgraded into peripheral states. What is most important for our research is the role of the colonizing machinery not only in this transformation but also in incorporating time and history to change time, creating time-lags; and translating the history and culture of the colonized states into the international society vocabulary.

Time lags were produced as labels: lateness, underdevelopment, etc; which in turn, are historically constructed stereotypes used as tactics to produce subjects; producing invisible sovereignty. The game of centre and periphery are discursive instances and reality and identity construction tools. Colonized states have new discursive instances: failed states. The niche previously occupied becomes backward and uncivilized. Creating the temporal identity of successful states, turned violence and use of force into a legitimate practice as part of the disciplinary practices. It will give a clue on understanding how the colonial “us”, centrally practiced, participated in the creation of the Israeli self as if the Israeli occupation and colonization don’t exist.

In a relevant context, in her thesis “Representations of the Palestinian Women in Western Colonial Discourse”, Amira Salmi (2007) investigated how Western academic writings on the Palestinian women serve as a norm for colonial relations and remain part of its discourse. Building her argument, she argues that knowledge is constructed on colonial relations that re-establish and reinforce domination and subordination. Utilizing discourse analysis drawing on the Foucauldian basic notion on discourse, this institutional regime reveals that the Western women discourse enforces the West as an end goal for the Palestinian women whose alterity is introduced as inferiority in comparison to the Western women “supremacy”. Palestinian women's resistance to the Israeli Occupation is defined as pointless and part of the “reproductive roles” and exploitation. Their feminist and political roles were denied; their participation was reduced into some primitive kind of consciousness and action. The same sexist racist discourse on which the exclusive colonial discourse of the colonized Other is based was reproduced. The colonial suppression was overlooked.

Uma Narayan and Sandra Harding's (2000) book "Decentering the Centre: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Postcolonial, and Feminist World" is one of the significant publications in the field. The essays in this volume conceptualize with a philosophical orientation contribution by multicultural, global, and postcolonial feminisms. These multicultural, global, and postcolonial feminist concerns. They incorporate and transform methodological approaches to articulate a political vision.

Lynda Lange (1998) piece in this publication "Burnt offerings to rationality: a feminist reading of the construction of indigenous peoples in Enrique Dussel's theory of modernity" sets a critique to Dussel's theory of modernity concluding that there should be no differentiation between modern and post-modern practices in terms of philosophy, political action, and construction of indigenous people, the subaltern women who are "located in the text", the latent of much importance for our research. Dussel holds to two approaches: the centralization of Europe as an endpoint model for which resulted in the irrational terror marketed as a myth of "sacrificial violence"; and the negative and irrational myth in which he tries to justify the colonial violence to a developmental fallacy.

Myth contradicts post-modernity philosophy, a collapse that triggers criticism to Dussel's theory, which a de-facto colonial practice. There are different strategies for postcolonial criticism. First: the "Other" is invented (as undeveloped): the colonizer's perception of the indigenous is entirely self-referential which results in labelling, giving this invention a brutal epistemological guarantee. Second: the action in texts of relations of domination and subordination or the localization in the text: analyzing to whom a text is speaking and about whom it speaks and the gaze: those who look, stare boldly and identify, and those who are stared at and labelled or what Dussel calls the inadequacy of "communication ethics". He identifies what he calls the "conditions of entry" into a discursive community. Harsh and

through the exclusion of indigenous people is employed. There is no discursive communication, rather, hegemony. Third, denying not the different levels of development; rather, no comparisons are made but differences are highlighted, a subtlety of the Dussel Approach. Indigenous peoples are inferior and at less complex stages of development and culture; they are to blame for their conditions.

The strong point of his approach is the way he shows that the point at which “rational belief slips over into “irrational myth” that can be difficult to discern, Lang says. These mythical argumentations are of much importance to our work. Alike the need highlighted by Lang to examine the argumentative irrationality of the Myth of modernity: “Us” centrality and the “Other” periphery, there is a similar need to study the Israeli legendary myths which turn the past present and justify the salvific purification: “irrational praxis of violence”. A decentring the Israeli occupation is a quest of this study.

In her journal article “Multiculturalism as a cognitive virtue of scientific practice” Ann E. Cudd (1998) poses that multiculturalism will be able to refute false and prejudice assumptions about race and gender that infects theories. It lays doubts on first principles that are established beyond doubt and knowledge. This background is distributed as for both the concept; univariant for perceives and the given; variant and phenomenological. She discusses variant approaches to knowledge from foundationalists to post foundationalist epistemology who on the other verge believe that knowledge is a social construction: produced by social norms and justified within a community of knowers where knowledge, not necessarily is produced or sanctioned. The writer gives answers to an important question: What sorts of things count as background assumptions? The psychological answer she says is everything: political values, moral values, beliefs, warranted and unwarranted assumptions of all sorts.

This is important for our research as for investigating the colonial interplay between the “concept” and the “given” to depict the image of Palestinian women and alter the background; not necessarily objective. Kudd cites Longino who explains well how the background assumptions sometimes need to be rejected; a better understanding of the knowledge formation processes from the lives of the oppressed is formed; by avoiding what she calls the multicultural version of the myth of the given; by taking the data of the oppressed to have immediate, natural significance with former knowledge prejudices. The knowledge used by the privileged to extend power over others to serve desires and beliefs; to justify it.

In her article “Essence of culture and a sense of history: a feminist critique of cultural essentialism”, Uma Narayan (1998) proposes that cultural essentialism is harmful to feminism; she further suggests strategies for avoidance. She raises concerns about the hegemonism of the women generalizations and their effect on theory, political agenda that replicate colonial assumptions about cultural differences. Portraits are attributed to specific groups of women: Muslims, women, third world women, etc. Naturally, on effacing problems, perspectives, and political concerns of women in marginalized areas. She sets boundaries for the work domain of gender essentialism; which creates sharp boundaries between men and women, and cultural essentialism; which sets sharp binaries between “us” and “them”.

She fails to see that cultural imperialism encompasses both problems; whereby privileged subjects tend their cultural other in their image, taking their particular locations and problems to be those of all women. The role it played during colonial times in providing various justifications for the colonial role and writings that challenged colonialism should be asserted. The colonial pictures of Otherization resurfaced in that postcolonial era; replicating those cultural differences.

The colonial self-portrait, Narayan asserts, resulted in seriously distorted representations of the colonized cultures often as a result of the prejudiced and ideologically motivated stereotypes; as a result of the anti-colonial movements and their efforts to reevaluate their cultural facets. Spirituality was used as an argument by the colonization to abort the indigenous lack of readiness for self-rule; by the indigenous nationalists to tell the superiority of their culture. Representation of women in national contexts are produced as marginalized and underprivileged; culture as a whole that effaces heterogeneity of the and imposes a paradigm of representation for all: “sexually constrained, ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimized, etc”; opposite portrayals are attributed to Western Women;; (Mohanty 1991,56 as cited by Narayan, 1998). The writer asserts that this same paradigm of national women is used to fight Westernization and preserve the local culture of women and introduced in local cultures as part of the “cultural identity”; leading to a conflation of political resistance. Cultures are not simply naming and labeling, they are entities whose individualization is connected to complex discursive processes linked to political agendas, Naryan confirms.

Naryan lists several culturally colonial essentialist manoeuvres that are employed to replicate essentialist representations; detrimental for women. The colonization obscuring of the role of emblematic status” as a central tradition; naturalizing it as pre-given, and insisting upon discursive description which would confirm the status rather than create it. This opens doors for evaluation: good or bad and informs people's thoughts without being subject of thought.

Historical essentialists obscure the contribution of what is seen to the conservation of culture; showing them as fixed, static, and given pictures; and as immune to history and changes over time. Resisting any changes that tend to threaten the colonial and dominant colonial power.

“selective labelling” where social power actors conveniently designate certain changes in values and practices as cultural loss and cultural betrayal or as cultural preservation (Narayan, 1998). Similar arbitrariness is displayed by the Taliban in Afghanistan, which is obsessed with forcing women back to their “traditional place” but appears to have no qualms about the cultural effects of its massive reliance on foreign or Western-produced armaments to maintain state power. Tracing the extensive changes in the lives of women and in practices affecting women that were once regarded as problematic but have come to be regarded as acceptable cultural and in practices affecting women that were once regarded as problematic.

Ofelia Schutte (1998) piece “Cultural alterity: cross-cultural communication and feminist theory in North-South contexts” presents an understanding of the communication or attempted intersubjective communication between dominant cultures and subaltern cultures; usually framed by prejudices. It offers some useful cornerstones for my discussion. She calls for decentralizing the “colonial” self. This approach triggers assumptions on Otherness and alterity or difference derived from the phenomenological-existential and post-structuralist traditions <sup>8</sup>. It builds upon the methodological developments regarding the cultural differences in post-colonial feminist theory. First: the other is the one decentring the ego of the dominant, self-enclosed, territorialized identity. Second; the regulative power of the narratives of identities who we are/ who the other is, who we aren’t, who the other isn’t. Third; knowledge is not culture-free but is determined by the methodologies and data legitimated by dominant cultures. It involves a highly constraining form of power; she asserts building on the Foucauldian theorization in regard especially as for the dominant cultural

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<sup>8</sup>*The post-colonial theory “pays special attention to issues of language, class, racial, ethnic, sexual, and gender differences, and to the justification of narratives about the nation-state. Postcolonial feminist theory, in turn, directs its attention to the lives of women and to the tensions affecting women whose voices appear in national narratives and accounts of diasporic migrations”. For more information see <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1527-2001.1998.tb01225.x>*

understanding of the cultural differences. She asserts the need for developing ethical and philosophical models: a critique for gender-normative biases and the critique of cultural imperialism and understanding subaltern cultural differences. She aims at a feminist postcolonial perspective that can balance the struggle against the legacy of colonial-imperial domination with the struggle for the creation of a feminist postcolonial perspective that can balance the struggle against the legacy of colonial-imperial domination with the struggle for the creation of feminist and feminist-compatible societies; the latter is not of concern for our research. She introduces the term incommensurability and its role in negotiating feminist ethical terms and normative judgments.

This is related to the untranslatability of cultural notions where cultural differences are functioning under temporalities (myths). By default, figures inhabit in some cases two different and juxtaposed or distinct temporalities. Speaking positions and narrative timeframes are superimposed accordingly. Meanings are delimited according to a set of stereotypical associations that are invisibly cultural producing discursive matrixes. The local master narrative exists in tension with the imposed knowledge and experience. This study shall contribute to understanding the role of Israeli media depictions in negotiating normative judgments on Palestinian females.

In her piece “What Should White People Do?” Linda Martín Alcoff (1998) explores kinds of white responses, all of which, in one way or another, seek to transcend white vanguardism to move toward a provocative position against racism by assessing the debate within feminism over white women’s relation to whiteness; by exploring “white awareness training” methods developed by Jwlyth Katz and the “race traitor” politics developed by Ignatiev and Garvey, and; a case study of white revisionism. Doubts are rising high not only in specific racist institutions or aggressions but also in the racialized legitimization narratives of “Western

civilization”. The feeling of supremacy, “feeling white”, and “white solipsism” describe perceptual practices; still, the proclaim of the white feminists that white women are primarily women, is an extension of essentially white privilege. This loyalty to racial racism means inequality, not liberation. Only the ability to abolish the white race to lay foundations of new departure that makes white traitors succeed. Confession of refusing whiteness is doesn’t render this racism m to be illegible to privileges even if the work exerted is too hard. This essay would help explain “Jewishness treason” in news media, which lays a foundation for similar racism representations against the goyim if any in the Israeli colonial context.

### **2.3.3 Framing and Foreign Media News Coverage of Palestinian Women**

In his seminal research “Martyrdom and the Myth of Motherhood: U.K. broadcast news media’s agential construction of Palestinian female suicide bombers during the Second Intifada (2000-2005)” Matthew Kirk (2020) investigates the extent that U.K. news media discourse presents these female actors as legitimate political actors. Via postcolonial framework based on the non-West socio-cultural “Other” and Foucauldian agents of power communicating and formulating truth, an analysis of the biological framework is presumed. The researcher analysis of how news coverage as for the vacant womb “appropriate gender behavior” versus deviated womb “assumed deviation of natural designation with motherhood” addresses the “constructions of Palestinian female suicide bombers’ allegedly deviant femininity impact upon representations of their political agency”. Kirk historizes for ancient prolonged Palestinian women involved in political activism and use of body political resistance dating for post-Balfour Declaration. Using qualitative methodology and a “compositional interpretation” approach to analyze visual aspects of coverage of BBC News and ITV News, the study concluded that “Western news media’s outright complicity in

delegitimizing these gendered actors”. The postcolonial framework and Foucauldian agents of power communicating and formulating truth can constitute the basis for our study.

In his article “Suicide Bombers as Women Warriors: Making News Through Mythical Archetypes Warriors: Making News Through Mythical Archetypes”, Dan Berkowitz (2005) explored how the mythical archetypes frame become a journalistic tool for reporting news after 9/11 about terrorism using categorical framing. Keeping with the grounded approach to analysis and interpretation of online news reporting of seven Palestinian female suicide bombers in major news websites. search was performed in the Major Papers section of Nexis; google searches were done as needed. The study developed a textual analysis in two directions: eye-coding of the texts to find how these women are different from succinct males’ suicide bombers and an analysis following the framework of Warrior woman archetype: toughness, smartness, beauty, sexuality, and defiance. Results reveal that in terms of male archetype, usually the American Western portrayal of trickster i.e. an anti-hero, the one who kills for the sake of killing, could not be used convincingly with female suicide bombers. The archetype shifted to the Warrior Woman archetype to refer to single suicide bombers who sought to corrects the wrongs of their societies. Then, this archetype was amalgamated with the Terrible mother archetype who go to battels to their family’s demise.

This contextual approach of this study might be useful to ground for the analyses of negative archetypes used for depicting Palestinian women in the construction of news and masquerading the facets of struggle against the colonial occupation and political resistance. The use of archetypes, the researches argue, helps journalists and audiences understand the unknown and the social order which they understand remains intact and give a logical makeover of the consequences. It, for more clarification the researcher concludes, allows placing terrorism into their contexts: Palestinian men are tricksters as they kill for the sake of

killing, But with this sense of order comes a reified belief about other cultures: “Palestinian men as Tricksters killing for killing’s sake, single Palestinian women as heroic Women Warriors out to right this society’s wrongs, married Palestinian mothers as an amalgamation of the two in the Terrible Mother who both heads off to battle and to her family’s demise”.

I recall this argument at considerable length here because this study grounds for the archetypes used commonly by the Israeli and foreign major press but gives no clues on how these archetype frames are moulded, for what sake are they moulded and how they participate into visualizing the ground figure of the Palestinians in terms of allowing a ready-made platform or frame for interpretation, the Palestinian women in particular, and therefor shape their identities; an occupation of our current study. It further answers not what role does the colonial hegemonic power i.e. the Israeli occupation play in this framing; rather, it gives a social and gendered frame that serves and systematically matches colonial, occidental and oriental frames needed by the governing power to justify occupation. All of which are an occupation of my study.

in her article “The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and, Terrorism”, Nacos (2005) argues that mass media typically depict terrorist women as interlopers in an utterly male domain. Using content analysis of U.S. and non-American English language print and broadcast news and, to a lesser extent, on an examination of the relevant literature in the field, the researcher made a comparison of the framing patterns in the news about women in politics and the entrenched stereotypes in the coverage of female terrorists demonstrates similarities in the depiction of these legitimate (women in politics) and illegitimate political actors (women in terrorism). She investigated the stereotypical clichés of women involved in political activities. Although

results show no difference in terms of the interloping issue; the study concluded. “Mass-mediated images of female terrorists do not reflect reality”.

While the phenomenon of media using print, news frames, and stereotyping fades regarding politician women, it deepens concerning the terrorist women; defined as illegitimate actors by the researcher. the researcher herself framed the Palestinian women's political activity as illegitimate. She recommended that the implementation of anti- and counterterrorism policies must not be influenced by the mass-mediated images of female terrorists because they do not reflect reality. For the sake of this study, Nacos’s media portrayals of female terrorists can be useful in grounding our study’s investigation of media bias through archetypes. the six keyframes under which these women are depicted go are highlighted as follows:

1. Physical appearance, emphasizing physical beauty;
2. Family connection, emphasizing familial status;
3. Sake of love, emphasizing (often wrongly) love for another, rather than a political incentive;
4. Women’s liberation/equality, emphasizing the fight in support of feminism;
5. Tough-as-/tougher-than males, emphasizing a particularly masculine woman, sometimes with lesbian references;
6. Bored, naive, out-of-touch-with-reality, emphasizing the woman as deluded.

In a similar vein, Israeli’s research article “Palestinian women: The quest for a voice in the public square through "Islamikaze martyrdom" neutralizes the Israeli occupation with regard to the intractable conflict (Israeli, 2004) . In return, it establishes for investigating how the Palestinian women were involved in the process of becoming Islamikaz. For this sake, a wide range of sources, including Arab media coverage of women suffering from oppressions and fatwas, were used. Israeli argues that Muslim women who suffer oppression, discrimination,

and exclusion are self-immolating young women with a quest of seeking martyrdom to achieve higher status like men in their societies. The research presented here follows two strategies which are presented as axioms to develop an argument. First, it exploits both Occidentalism and Orientalism deep frames to make a grounding figure of the basis of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian women participating in the struggle. Second, it builds upon a selective examination of naturally existing extreme relevant media literature which amplifies emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal events, and a network of Fatwas and religious men statements were possible.

Regarding Occidentalism, the researcher groups Israel and the West as being endangered. He highlights the danger of the Islamikaze operations causing what he calls an awesome impact relating to causalities, damage, destruction, and political reverberations. He underlines that Western values of equality and freedom are defamed under claims that they only produce and export addict youngsters, preserve homosexual relations, rape, theft, corruption, murder, and debauchery. He abruptly concluded that being unable to face the humiliation of technological inferiority, the Palestinians would use the ultimate weapon of Islamikaze to terrify western populations with their women and children participating in that chilling national endeavor. Furthermore, he establishes a connection between the Arab women bodily resistance and 9/11 attacks. Jihad, in which everyone including women must take part even without fathers' permission or husband's consent, was declared to respond to Bush's announcement of crusades. For Palestinians, the researcher claims Islamikaz has been imported from Hizbullah.

With the gendered reality and Oriental stereotyping, the researcher draws upon the status of women in Islam both in the Arab world and for Palestinian women. He heads towards the overall aim of examining the role of their social and religious status in transforming

Palestinian women into Islamikaze martyrs. To this end, selected emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal events and fatwas of extremist religious men were tightly woven. More to this; a whole lexicon of oriental stereotypes was cultivated all through the article. To exemplify; he draws arguments on women who are veiled and sheltered from rapacious male society or their lust and toptypical frivolity. He revokes a long argument on the concept of honour to defending women as property from rape and violation.

He further argues that this relates to land as property and land rape. Muslims are fundamentals; polygamous (counter-argument to mass adultery of the West) with a profound and detailed argument on illogical and legendary justifications; rigid, dominating, and tyranny husbands who prevent them from work, wearing make-up, arousing their lust, expose their hair or any centimetre of their bodies, having radio or TV, which drives women to commit/ try to commit suicide. They are either killed or exposed to mutilation and domestic violence. They are depicted as all pursuing access to paradise. Palestinian women, suffering frustrations as their traditional family roles were reinforced especially under the Hamas Charter which seems *prima facie* more attentive to women than the PLO, having their dreams of political participation shelved or being tempted by carnal temptations and paradise, left them no avenue but Jihad. This draws attention to the role of the Post-Zionist Orientalism (Shumsky, 2004).

#### **2.3.4 Framing in the Israeli News Coverage of Palestinian Females**

In their research “Online news coverage of female perpetrators during the October 2015 wave of violence of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict”, Amit Lavie-Dinur, Moran Yarchi and Yuval Karniel (2019) investigated the effect of ethnocentric frame coverage, whether there are gender considerations that overpower it, and the tendency of Israeli news websites to cover

female perpetrators versus males during the October 2015 wave of violence. Using a multi-method approach, the researcher conducted both quantitative and qualitative content analyses of news stories appearing in three leading Israeli news websites (Ynet, Haaretz, and Walla) over 20 days of coverage, in which 29 attacks took place (21 by male perpetrators, and 8 by females).

A sample of 1,8323 articles published during October 2015 was examined (out of 3,110 articles). Basic information about the perpetrator's sex, attack, method, location – West Bank/Green Line, and attack target – security forces/civilians/both were collected to understand how male and female perpetrators were being covered. The examination focused on various aspects of the coverage: (1) salient themes on which the news stories focused (such as the attack, the perpetrator, gaining control, a combination of themes, and other themes); (2) representation of personal information about the perpetrator (mental state, information about their family, and physical appearance); (3) representation of the motive for their actions (ideology, mental state, personal); (4) expressions used to describe the perpetrators (terrorist, stabber, perpetrator, martyr, and young men/women); and (5) information presented regarding the procedure of gaining control over the attacker (an indicator we added, as the topic was salient during the studied wave of violence). The study concluded that news coverage of female perpetrators revealed real differences between acts of terror carried out by men and women; more personal, familial, and mental information about women was given. No emphasis was given to physical appearance due to the dominance of ethnic framing; the researcher predicts. The most used frames are the family connection frame, emphasizing familial status; and the bored, naive, out-of-touch-with-reality frame, in which a terrorist is seen as deluded. the researcher recommends further studies from more varied social, political, and military angles be conducted to study what found “a new type of

terrorism i.e. lone actors. The ethnocentric frame is very important for my study. Nonetheless, ethnic bias remains prevalent.

In a similar vein, plethora of Israeli researchers investigated Palestinian struggle against the Israeli occupation within the deep terrorist frame. In her article “The Changing Roles of Women in Violent Islamist Groups”, Margolin (2019) sought to “forecast the potential threat from women by looking at different violent Islamist groups and examining their rhetorical shifts concerning women’s roles in combat”. She discussed Palestinian women's serious ramifications to ideologies of fundamental Islamist ideology of terrorist groups: Hamas and Islamic State. She found that these groups' ideologies might change and adapt to shifting landscapes, creating new threats: women. In her study “A Palestinian Woman's Place in Terrorism: Organized Perpetrators or Individual Actors?”, Margolin (2016) examined the Palestinian women involved in terrorism and political violence between 1965 through 1995 and the role of the religious Palestinian terrorist organizations in the institutional environment in changing the nature of Palestinian women’s activities in terror groups.

Using quantitative analysis and the theoretical frameworks of feminism and new institutionalism, the researcher found women’s participation in terrorism evolved between 1965 and 1995. Findings show that when organizations used women in their attacks, they were more likely to be high-intensity attacks. Despite women’s increased participation in terrorism- the patriarchal structure of society continues to be reflected in Palestinian terrorist organizations. The women who took initiative to carry out attacks were, the study concludes, exerting their influence on terrorist organizations and demanding institutional change and equal status.

The thesis - later published as a book titled “Stereotypes and prejudice in conflict: Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish society” Bar Tal & Teichman (2009) is one of the most significant academic works that try to exegesis the psychological foundation, facets, and dynamic of the Palestinian-Israeli intractable conflict. The researchers, both professors of psychology at Tel Aviv University who believed psychology plays a role in conflicts, found that stereotyping and prejudice framing in the Israeli media (and textbooks) towards the Palestinians, women, in particular, has started long before the Nakba and turned more negative even after concluding the peace agreements. It is a case study of stereotypes in the context of an intractable conflict that started in the early 1990s, of the nature and development of the “other” representations (concept, image, stereotype, and prejudice) of a real-life experiment as for a sample of Israeli normal children, adolescence, and adults.

The analysis of interviews, questionnaires, performance and human figure drawings, stunning, of the sample perception, attitudes, and emotions under eight frames of representation - including delegitimization, self-victim hood, peace, self-collected positive view, revealed that the psychological repertoire of the Israeli children; preschoolers in particular, has the most extreme in-group favoritism and outgroup negativity. The portrayals of the Palestinian women were attributed with a high level of aggression for all the Israeli children age groups. They express negative beliefs and intentions and were presented as significant representatives of the conflict, depicting, in this sense, a more negative image than for men.

Amit Lavie-Dinur, Yuval Karniel & Tal Samuel-Azran study “‘Bad girls’: the use of gendered media frames in the Israeli media's coverage of Israeli female political criminals” (2015) and their research. They examined the Israeli news media’s use of stereotypical gender news frames when reporting on three Israeli women who committed ideological crimes against the

state(2013b). Both studies found that the Israeli media rely on gender frames and explanations of personal motive in its portrayals of female criminals.

The first study compared the coverage of these cases among three daily print Yediot Ahronot, Haaretz, and Israel Hayom. The second used quantitative and qualitative methods, the researchers based their analysis on the media coverage of five Israeli individuals (3 men, 2 women) who committed political crimes (3 right-wing, 2 left-wing) against the state between 2004 and 2011. 236 newspaper articles were analyzed from the three Israeli newspapers, Yediot Ahronot (75 articles), Haaretz (108 articles), and Israel Hayom (53 articles). Framing is analyzed through the depth of coverage, language choices, and the rhetorical devices used to portray the context of the events and the perpetrators' motives.

In the Israeli newspapers representing different political affinities, personalized news frames were pursued in the Israeli media regarding the coverage of criminal political perturbators that belong to the Israeli "we" and the Palestinian "other"; named external. In addition to this ethnographic frame that builds of racist distinction, the Israeli press tends to depict the other as evil and acting against "us"; meanwhile, there is a profound need to find a multidimensional explanation for the act when the perpetrator is "one of us". The studies concluded that the Israeli media used personalized news frame are the "eccentric," the second is the "woman in love," the third is "the good/bad girl," the fourth is the "lone saboteur" and the fifth is "the trickster." t deep frame can be beneficial in our study.

A terrorist frame perspective was adopted by Sela-Shayovitz in her work "Female Suicide Bombers: Israeli Newspaper Reporting and the Public Construction of Social Reality" (2007). Exploring the contribution of newspapers to social definitions of "female terrorists", the representation of Palestinian female suicide bombers. The researcher analyzed 436 news reports in the three major Israeli daily newspapers utilizing a triangulated approach including

quantitative and qualitative approaches. Conclusions come under four major themes bond to gender roles and stereotyped concepts of Arab women. The researcher recognized gender differences in the presentation of male and female suicide bombers. Still, social realities are built through women's portrayals which are “constructed by highlighting particular versions of ‘otherness’” related to their low familial status. She concluded that the press tends to report on the activity of female terrorists through the use of basic interpretation patterns: the traditional stereotyping of Arab women, sexist stereotypes, depicting female bombing as a masculine activity that challenges male hegemony.

She further found that Media reportage tends to attribute women to committing what it frames as a terrorist act in terms of individual pathology; denying any connection to ideological struggle. Journalists tend to quote military sources which imply impartiality. They play a double role: the explanation of female terrorists and the amplification and construction of social realities. She found that avoiding or the importance of the involvement of Palestinian women in Arab terror organizations is belittled by newspapers.

## **2.4 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS**

These studies, then, provide evidence of general stereotypical patterns of framing. Palestinian women were vehemently presented as terrorists or political criminals and depicted under the deep framings of terrorism and Orientalism; every day Palestinian women's lives are masqueraded; the abnormal, extraordinary and extraordinary events are amplified.

For majority of researches in the literature review, there was no interest in measuring the tone of how discursive constructions in the Israeli media work under power relations and colonial ideology-resolved news reporting; neither was there an interest in tracking an Israeli colonial

model of power relations that reveals subjection in its material instance and constitute the colonized subjects.

Although all of the above-mentioned studies have provided a solid of framing, they still had the following gaps: Palestinian females are historically disoriented in a frontline political struggle; Western feminist conceptions (archetypes) are used to form the figure-ground for interpreting perpetrator's actions following Oriental and post-colonialist scholar's impacting gendered discourse representations. Framing has been studied as an outcome; none of the researches above examined how the framings are constructed i.e., the internal discursive mechanisms of discourse structures neither are the colonized Palestinian identity and reality constructions are pursued; a pursue of this study.

Notwithstanding claims that such attitudes significantly impact the process of policymaking, the literature review reveals that mainstream research and media reproduction of Palestinian women activists under gendered, fundamentally religious, and political terrorist identities. The terrorism deep frame is used to depict them and obscure the de facto of the occupation and colonial power hegemonic control. Much focus was given to presumed relation with terrorist organizations and the circulation of either military narration of the colonial power, fatwas, and amplification of emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal incidents. The pathological disorders frame was - as well, exploited. The oriental frame is at work in different researches; it constitutes the ideological framing of representation of women. Thus, it not named accordingly

The manifestations of the language used to describe Palestinian women in Israeli newspapers and semantic content has gone far away in deploying stereotypes against Palestinian women in a systematically selective functional approach. Furthermore, the stereotyping of

Palestinian women was developed into a linguistically special Lexicon, which can be easily tracked. This stereotyping lexicon reveals a pervasive “war culture” that relies on negative profiling, exclusion, hatred, and rejection. Still, stereotyping is part of different internal discursive mechanisms; a pursue of this study.

Israeli newspapers show similar systematic negative stereotyping against Palestinian women to Arab women depiction in the Western media; they further conjure Israel to the US efforts of combating terrorism since 2001 which heavily rely on religion, nationalism, and gender (Maira, 2009); an Occidental practice. This untold employment of two different contexts: the oriental stereotyping of Arab women in the Arab and Islamic World and the portrayal tailored under fighting terrorism give the colonial Israeli occupation global identity thrives. This employment of stereotyping in a colonial context can be an existential threat to the Palestinian women identities and the Palestinian Cause; a hallmark of this study.

This academic discourse has rarely focused, however, on the Israeli occupation is often overlooked and neglected it as a grounding variant in constructing reality through a hegemonic ethnic-racial racist speech; an Endeavor of this study.

## **Chapter 3: Research Design**

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This chapter describes the design adopted by this research to achieve the aims and objectives stated in (section 1.4) of Chapter Chapter 1:.

(Section (3.1) discusses the methodology used in the study, the stages by which the methodology is implemented, and the research design; (section 3.2) details the sampling corpus which includes the corpus description (3.3), the criteria of selection of the said corpus, (3.3) which lists all the instruments used in the study and justifies their use; (section 3.3) discusses how the data is analyzed; finally, (section 3.4) discusses the ethical considerations of the research and its and limitations.

### **3.1 Methodology**

This study examines how ethnic-racial dominance is reproduced through discursive structures in the Israeli news reporting of Palestinian females. Given the assumption that journalism can shape issues, agendas, public debate, opinions, identities, and social reality (Fairclough, 1995: 2 as cited at Richardson, 2007, 13) and that ‘journalists not only report reality but create it’ (Schudson, 1995, 2), the Israeli media discourse can be a springboard for studying the colonial discursive structures contribution to reproducing reality and decentralization of indigenous Palestinians under power relations.

The hypotheses mentioned above will be tested through a methodological approach that incorporates qualitative content analysis, a subjective method that is more effective when

coupled with other analytical techniques such as interpretive hermeneutic dimension obtained through discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Van Dijk, 1985, 10; Jensen, 2002).

Language is central to social subjects' construction; "language and ideology are closely imbricated" the systematic analysis of the language of the texts reveals the way they are constructed and the "the way that people are oppressed within current social structures" (Mills, 1997, 134). Critical linguists such as Norman Fairclough introduced working models that turned Foucault's abstractions into analytical procedures of discursive functioning mechanisms that help to uncover the textual inequalities of power (Fairclough, 1992a). Critical linguists were able to develop a political analysis and "integrated Michel Foucault's definition of discourse with a systematic framework of analysis based on a linguistic analysis of the text (Fairclough, 1992a; Fairclough, 1992b; Mills, 1997, 148).

Foucault is "so important to linguistics is because of his work's emphasis on the 'major role of discourse in the constitution of social subjects' (Fairclough, 1992b, 44). Foucault is "so important to linguistics is because of his work's emphasis on the 'major role of discourse in the constitution of social subjects' (ibid, 1992b.: 44). Fairclough was concerned as well with "the way that people are positioned into roles through discursive structures and their role in the disqualification of the others "discursive structures, but also [reveals] how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants (ibid, 1992b: 3). CDA accounts for relations between discourse and power to "describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions" with

discourse analysis which counts for linguistic analysis and access to discourse manipulations (van Dijk, 1996, 84).

Van Dijk model gains special value as it the constitutive nature of discourse – discourse constitutes the social, including “objects” and social subjects; the primacy of interdiscursivity and intertextuality – any discursive practice is defined by its relations with others and draws upon others in complex ways’ (Fairclough, 1992b, 55).

As meaning construction through semantic representations and figure ground/identity alterations, Foucault’s logical constructions, power/ knowledge matrix, argumentations, drama and their ability to hide truth in the public consciousness are pursued. Under the basic concept of this study: uncovering discursive structure that factorize power relations, Dramatization structures are investigated as internal discursive structures of subjects’ delineation.

Van Dijk Model allows for investigating the “manipulation of mental models of social events through the use of specific discourse structures, such as thematic structures, headlines, style, rhetorical figures, semantic strategies and so on. Unless the readers or listeners have access to alternative information”. It allows to understand “Who may speak or write to whom, about what, when, and in what context, or Who may participate in such communicative events in various recipient roles” and “measures of discourse access [patterns of access] may be rather faithful indicators of the power of social groups and their members” that “establish one of the relationships between discourse and social power”(Van Dijk, 1992, 86, 89). It further presents for solid modelling of exclusion other than “their (generally) lower class position. That is, their lack of access is not merely defined in terms of racial or ethnic exclusion but also by their class-dependent lack of access to good education, status, employment, or capital, shared with poor whites. The exclusion and marginalization that result from limited socio-economic

and symbolic (discursive, communicative) access hardly need to be spelled out” (ibid, 1992, 91).

Following Said’s notions on the construction techniques of the colonial discourse, van Dijk and Fairclough’s procedural models, the linguistic semantic and syntactic structures which support ethnocentric racial discriminations and the construction of the Other – the objectification constructions and the challenging Other (Other of the Other) structures and the subjectification constructions are pursued. This helps track and define the Foucauldian abstractions, including the exclusion/inclusion and access to the discursive construction techniques. This mixed conceptualization and abstractness help uncover how power is running in these discursive boundaries and explore how can the intrinsic structures contribute to creating meaning and world view through figure-ground alterations.

The Other is constructed through syntactic structures including time-placements including distant past tense and ethnographic present’, passive/ active structures, pronouns and semantic structures including Generalizations, Nomenclature: Value-laden statements, negative images, and stereotypes are analyzed to understand how epistemes are constructed; the repetitiveness of certain types of event-sequence would embody statements and the primacy of interdiscursivity and intertextuality which help in addition to the previous Othering Techniques to understand Discourses creation.

Linguistic analysis helps understanding how the discourse is circulated and how it is kept alive through different techniques such as the commentaries, the academic discipline, the rarefication of the discourse, and the concept of ownership. It helps understanding how the Other is constructed through different techniques of inclusion and exclusion including the prohibition, the discourse of those who are considered insane and criminals, and the copy of

reality discourse. These constructions are investigated along with an analysis of discourse constituents, the confessional discourse and the access to discourse limitations, and the internal mechanisms of discourse circulation. This plays a dual function in the creation and simplification of the Other. In Foucauldian terms, this helps clueing how the archives are built.

This linguistic analysis makes it possible to understand power relations, the discourse circulation, and how it is kept a life through repetitiveness, intersexuality, semantic transformations, and commentaries.

As language is the site where those struggles over representations are acted out; ‘as history constantly teaches us, discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination but is the thing for which and by which there is a struggle’; as there is an interest in both the extent of coverage of this particular topic and how language is used, there is a call for an inductive analysis of frames to allow moving from abstraction to personification i.e. arriving at the framing patterns that contextualize the Israeli news coverage of Palestinian Females in Ynet and Haaretz under a power relation matrix and the struggle over-representations (Foucault, 1981, 52–3).

## **3.2 The corpus Sampling**

### **3.2.1 Corpus Description**

Considering the role of the societal function of mass media in shaping public opinion (Schudson, 1995), this study is limited to the online versions of the English language electronic newspapers. The print is not considered as we are considering the political

construction of reality over the international audience. An internet news archive will be used to access articles of Ynet and Haaretz the highest-circulating daily online pages. Yediot Aharonot (Ynet) website is one of Israel's most popular websites; It "represents the public consensus on government policies, Haaretz is seen more liberal, it emphasizes the professional ethos of balanced, objective reporting of the Israel–Palestinian conflict" (Dor, & Dor, 2005, Korn, 2004, cited in Sela-Shayovitz, 2007b, 203). Ynet is the most popular news site in Israel (it is part of the Yediot Aharonot newsgroup) and tends to present mainstream views; Haaretz is the elite newspaper and news site <sup>9</sup>. Both newspapers write "the headlines according to their agenda and tended to accept government policy as the basis for their decisions in editing the news" (Dor, & Dor, 2005, cited in Sela-Shayovitz, 2007b, 203). While Ynet is by no means leftist, Haaretz tends to present more liberal (left-wing) and "attract[s] English-speaking foreign readers"<sup>10</sup>. "Full access to a major newspaper or television network thus also implies access to a large audience which reflects the basic notion of access"; an "important criterion of power" (Van Dijk, 1992, 88)

From discursive perspectives, the anonymity of news discourses would, according to post-structuralist theorists, counterfeit the politicized analysis of colonialism. Still, news reporting reveals a different position to colonialism allowing for an understanding of both the way that "larger-scale discursive frameworks played a role in colonial activity" and the "individual agency at some level" (Mills, 1997, 123). This, in turn, clarifies how "within the given hegemonic formation such an alternative discourse [Occidentalism] was able to emerge" (Porter, 1982, 181).

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<sup>9</sup> Source: According to Alexa's analysis of Israeli websites: <http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/IL>

<sup>10</sup> More information can be retrieved from <http://blogs.dickinson.edu/gelulaj/2019/04/02/the-political-leanings-of-israeli-media/>

The corpus comprises (86) news articles: (50) news articles were extracted from Haaretz and (36) news articles from Ynet.

### **3.2.2 Criteria of Selectin**

Data was scraped from Ynet and Haaretz online official pages using Face Pager, and Excel-based filtering processing to culminate relevant articles using a semi-limited set of keywords such as “Palestinian women”, Arab women”, “Palestinian female”, “terrorist Palestinian”, “Israeli Arab female/ MK” alone and along with words like terror, stab, veiled, MK member Haaretz and Ynet search engine was used for better cyberspace cultivation. Different writing styles of name-based of Lucy Ahairch and stab attackers were taken into consideration. articles that directly tell stories about Palestinian females were selected.

Data was collected using the purposive sampling “method a form of non-probability sampling in which decisions concerning the elements to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher“ (Palys, 2008 cited in (Hassan et al., 2018, 625).

Noticeably, Ynet articles are simultaneously posted on their Facebook and Twitter official pages. Each article is marked: Follow Ynetnews on Facebook and Twitter. Haaretz is more likely to allow sharing options for readers .Each article is marked: Share in Facebook, Share in Twitter, Send in e-mail. Articles that double appeared in each of the newspapers’ Facebook and twitter research tab were selected; all the (86) articles did.

For the sake of the topic of this study, this amplification of information is critical as the size of the audience of one’s discourse, is an important indicator of power. “Although the scope of access, in terms of the size of the audience of one's discourse, is an important criterion of power, control is much more effective if the minds of the audience can also be successfully

`accessed'. When speakers can influence the mental models, knowledge, attitudes and eventually even the ideologies of recipients, they may indirectly control their future actions. That is, mentally mediated control of the actions of others is the ultimate form of power, especially when the audience is hardly aware of such control, as is the case in manipulations” (Van Dijk, 1996; Van Dijk, 1992, 88, 89). This, in turn, building on Foucault's notion of circulation as a hegemonic discursive tool, could add to the technical external tools of the circulation of discourse in” time”.

The corpus of the research sample is purposive rather than random, it produces a more useful sample. For this, the search will be restricted to a specific scale, 2016. It tops 68 years of Israeli colonial occupation of Palestine, two intifadas, 3 wars, and an uprising; “given its ‘hi-tech’ character, the effects of the Israeli project on the Palestinian body are much more formidable than the relatively primitive operations undertaken by the apartheid regime in South Africa between 1948 and the early 1980s. This is evidenced by its miniaturization of violence – its cellularization and molecularization – and its various techniques of material and symbolic erasure (Makdisi, 2010 as cited in Mbembe, 2016, 24). 2016 witnessed unprecedented self-employment of the Palestinian Females' bodies i.e., speaking through death as a tool of political engagement in the struggle. 2016 precedes major political turnovers: Trump's declaration on Jerusalem, the siècle of the century, and plans of annexation; declaring a new era of further silencing the Palestinian national project and an additional step towards fabricating a hybrid Plastic representation and elite-subaltern identity. This is conjured, according to observation, with an eclipse of bodily political resistance.

Noticeably, most news articles in both newspapers were updated in 2018. In writing to digital media, update brings back news to the interface. Dragging on Foucault's basic notion of hegemonic discourse to this context, update provides technical (external) procedures to the

circulation of discourse over time. Although digital and external mental power median procedures are not part of the scope of this study, this explanation adds to the expected value of the sample.

To avoid the under-analysis, the sample is scaled over a period of one year. For the objectivity and value of this research, the units of content analysis of original articles are the textual material of the news articles including options; photos, optionnaires, breaking news, etc are excluded.

### **3.3 Analytical procedures**

Up to this point, the sample is determined. It is now important to decide how much data is going to be examined to answer the research questions. Coherently, research questions are designed in such a way to build up a composition of how the discursive constructions under the Israeli colonial model of power relations reveal subjection in its material instance and constitute the colonized subjects.

For majority of researches in the literature review, there was no interest in measuring the tone of how discursive constructions in the Israeli media work under power relations and colonial ideology-resolved news reporting, a strive of this study. However, most of the researches used content and context analysis. These methodological approaches explore frames as an external manifestation of the discursive processes. They stand short as “the effects of the exercise of power, a Foucauldian concern, is beyond these research methodologies mandate”; as “power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain-relations of power “cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation, and

functioning of discourse which operates through and on the basis of this association” (Foucault, 1980, 93, 98).

Based on the theories of Michel Foucault, (colonial) discourse analysis is focusing on the power of relationships in society as expressed by means of language and practices. It investigates how “the figures used language to propose their power dominance, and request obedience and honor from those subordinate to them (Salma, 2018,3). While Discourse Analysis “provides a basic methodology to describe and analyze how the structure and content of the text encode ideas and the relationships among the ideas itself that are present in the text, systematically”(Hamuddin, 2012 as cited in Salma, 2018,1), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is “an interdisciplinary approach to textual study that aims to explicate abuses of power promoted by those texts, by analyzing linguistic/semiotic details in light of the larger social and political contexts in which those texts circulate” (Huckin et al., 2012, 107).

It investigates different structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, and control in language use (Wodak, 2001). Furthermore, it goes beyond the “impact of the systematic choices of particular language items or grammatical construction within a text” (Mills, 2004, 119). CDA can be “conducted in such fields as Gender Inequality Media, discourse, Political Discourse, Ethnocentrism, Anti-Semitism, Nationalism and Racism as “a problem/issue-oriented approach rather than a paradigm-oriented approach; a critical approach ... multidisciplinary approach that focuses on the relation between discourse and society ... to focus on different semiotic dimensions of communication and not only on verbal dimensions, and explaining the relationships of power, dominance, and inequality in society and .. uncover the discursive means of mind control and social influence; and to disclose the underlying ideologies (Van Dijk, 2001).

CDA has long been criticized for being language-centered, However, “this is changing as more and more CDA scholars have broadened their interests to include multimodal communication”; Norman Fairclough has followed “Kress’s and van Leeuwen’s lead, replacing “discourse” with semiosis, which doesn’t constrain meaning-making to written modalities. An excessive focus on language also draws attention away from textual silences, omissions, and absences, which have enormously manipulative potential” (Huckin et al., 2012, 121).

Van Dijk suggests CDA analyze news discourse production of ethnic-racial dominance or racism. News pursues discursive patterns, access for majority/minority groups is produced by persuasive influence on the mental conditions like stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies of the majority discriminatory practices (Van Dijk, 1996, 91). This “forra the bases for symbolic dominance; a major property of media access denial” (ibid, 1996, 85,86; Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 2013). His analysis includes patterns of access, style of reporting or the evaluative terms, the collusion of the majority representatives, etc. This in turn highlights the dramatic ethnic racist framing of in-groups. Informal text logic and discursive persuasion strategies; cognitive and social representations; and strategies at the macro phenomena not the micro-organization of news discourse schematic structures; which Minsky calls frames (Minsky, 1975 cited in Van Dijk, 1985). This analytical approach may contribute to an explicit structural account of news discourse, it tells us little about the (mass or media) or the communication dimension of news i.e. why these themes and schemes, macrostructures, and superstructures are chosen; what are their roles; functions and effect on news process and reception (Van Dijk, 1985, 70).

According to Fairclough, CDA “aims at “addressing the social ‘wrongs’ of the day (in a broad sense – injustice, inequality, lack of freedom, etc.) by analyzing their sources and causes, resistances to them and possibilities of overcoming them”(2009, 88). Texts are governed by the syntactic structures, rather, they are determined by social structures where the order of discourse plays an important role in shaping social elements, including language whether discursive or non-discursive. Discourse elements that refer to both the language and semiotics of social practices are not the same as social relations. Discourse can interact in three ways: **genres** such as interviews; **discourses** representing the real world such as the discourse of classic pre modernism versus the discourse of postmodernism; and **style** which includes the bodily behaviors like the way Palestinian opposition, official figures or designers, etc. use the language as self-identifying. Cohabitation with propaganda texts, Fairclough believes would shape identities of people as “consumers” and assert the role of texts (language or discourse) in the construction of the social world. It spreads over a multidisciplinary field of studies like capitalism, shifts in government and governance, and hybridity; usually related to postmodernity. This directly relates to our study of the hybridity in the digital cyber visual space and Facebook.

This study opts for a triangulation of theories to overcome the argumentative theory shortcomings which take into consideration “the cognitive dimension of thematic and schematic structures” while neglecting the social and institutional context of news production and use.”(Van Dijk, 1992, 247; Van Dijk, 1996).

To this end, this study pursues to conjure an “integrated interdisciplinary” approach of both Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis; a similar approach to the innovation of integration of the two which has been proposed by Nurul Fathia (2018). Fathia suggested an integrated analytical approach of written Discourse Analysis - since we are dealing with

newspapers, in collaboration with CDA, to form a worthy framework and methodology” to “analyze the news (sample) from the critical point of view (ibid, 2018).

To elaborate, our study develops an integrated analysis model that combines the following: Firstly: the systematic nature of the semantic representations of Edward Said’s notion of discourse. Secondly: Norman Fairclough's Model of discourse analysis attempts to uncover linguistic, ideological and power patterns under eight principles asserting the following functions of power/language: the power relations are discursive; discourse does ideological work; discourse is historical, the link between text and society is mediated and discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, etc (Fairclough & Wodak, 2005; Fairclough, & Wodak, 1997). Thirdly: Van Dijk’s critical analysis model which explores” how ethnic-racial dominance, or racism, is also reproduced through differential patterns of discourse access for majority and minority groups” which “have a broader political and socio-cultural function, viz., to argue politically for the control over black people, and for the reproduction of white dominance (Van Dijk, 1992, 91). That is, the legitimating of white neglect in ethnic affairs, and finding excuses for right-wing racism and reaction” (1992, 255) to other media coverage forms i.e. news report, article, or opinion, and in a new context other than black/white racism to a colonial racist and biased context. Much attention shall be paid to his concept of social power and dominance. Much attention is given to his model analysis of access to discourse, patterns of access, and the role of discursive reproduction of power, racism, and dominance (Van Dijk, 1996)

This study suggests Media Discourse (MD) analysis; a possible framework of CDA analysis frame of patterns of access to discourse. It gives special focus on media discourse as to avoid “both the narrowness of semiotic analysis, with its tendency to focus solely on the text, and the broad generalizations that often characterize ideological analysis of media representation”

(Macdonald, 2003). It helps to investigate the selected news articles in the two newspapers: Haaretz and Ynet as to acquire general properties about the argumentation structure and ideology.

I believe DA and CDA could contribute to answering the first, third, and fourth questions while the inductive analysis which “involves reviewing news content in an open-ended attempt to discover frames that emerge from the text” will give a tool for answering the second question (Huckstep, 2009, 52). “The primary purpose of the inductive approach is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies” (Thomas, 2006, 238). Accordingly, frames were obtained quantitatively, following an inductive approach where frames can be derived from the sample (Matthes, 2009). Both approaches will be a toolbox for answering the main question of the study. to conclude, a comparative approach is pursued to give an answer to the fourth question.

This analytical framework would lay the foundation for the inception of a theoretical framework that aims at bringing some contribution and give useful insights into examining how images injure. As well, it could help explore ways to construct “Others” by changing the frames and manipulating perception under power relations and ethnic-racial discrimination.

The Sample are coded and analyzed using MAXQDA; a paid digital analysis tool. It helps creating and following a coding system, data editing option for coding variables and analysis techniques including mixed methods.

### **3.4 ETHICS AND LIMITATIONS**

This triangulation of theories and methods would lay the foundation for an analytical procedure for the theoretical framework that aims, in turn, this would transform discourse analysis into the more objectivity-oriented approach. It will transform Foucault abstractions into a procedural dimension. By this, impressionistic interpretations, an ethical concern of the context analysis approach, are generally avoided.

Few original sources and the sample contain as many spelling mistakes; the few relating to different dialects using “s” for “z” form were replaced; Others were kept as is.

## Chapter 4: Discussion

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Chapter 4: details results, presents a full discussion, interpretation, and evaluation of how the Israeli discourse is orchestrated to visually represent the Palestinian women under colonial practices; it gives a discursive scalpel to dissect the image construction of Palestinian females and meaning mutilations under power relations. We aim at investigating sexism as a discourse. Factual and interpretive material are interwoven following the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2: This chapter can also include theory building.

As “questions of language usage have led to wider political actions”, it happens that “certain forms of signification are silently excluded, and certain signifiers ‘fixed’ in a commanding position(s)” (Mills, 1997, 44-55; Eagleton, 1991: 194 as cited in Brownlie & Saren, 1997). This unfolds as a media framing which is defined as “a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (Tankard & James, 2021, 100). Argumentation schemata and dramatization as well are “central organizing idea[s] (...) for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue” (ibid, 3). “Discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance (Foucault, 1978, 100-1). By virtue of this, the Foucauldian conceptualization of power forces us not only to “re-evaluate the role of language/discourse/texts in the process of the constitution of subjects within a hierarchy of relations the colonizer and colonized in this particular context, but also sexism (Mills, 1997, 42-3). It helps to explore femininity as discourse, a thrive of this study. Exploring this means “a shift away from viewing it as a normative order, reproduced through socialization, to which women are somehow

subordinated. Rather femininity is addressed as a complex of actual relations vested in texts” (Smith, 1990, 163).

It is a grounding notion to understand the unwritten grammar of the regulations of the internal constructing structure of the Israeli media. To this end, before delving in the investigation of the constituents of these discourses, it is important to examine the surface regularities or structures” which Foucault suggests are intrinsic to discourse, most notably the episteme, the statement, the discourse and the archive” and “the way that certain discourses are circulated and in effect kept in existence” (Mills, 1997, 56). This constitutes a grounding-notion of the background analysis of the nature of the Israeli colonial discourse.

Adding to this, "Edward Said's discursive features of the body of knowledge are analyzed. Said “modified the Foucauldian discursive model with the Gramscian political theorizations” which keep occurring in “texts about colonized countries and that these cannot be attributed simply to the individual author's beliefs, but are rather due to larger-scale belief systems structured by discursive frameworks, and are given credibility and force by the power relations” (Ibid, 1997, 105-108).

This also finds a mirroring in the post-colonial Theory's contribution on mimicry and ambivalence. The “colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite”; “Mimicry is thus the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which ‘appropriates’ the Other as it visualizes power (Bhabha, 2012, 86). Presenting the Other as a lacking Self is here theorized as a form of complex desire on the part of the colonizer, rather than simply as an act of oppression and appropriation. The colonizer here is just as much at

the mercy of these forms of representation as the colonized, and is simply caught in the play of desire and fantasy which the colonial context produces. (Mills, 1997, 125).

It is the “discourse [that] transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (Foucault, 1978, 100-1). Therefore, under the discourse theory, we are capable of questioning “whether sexism is ever simply a matter of the imposition of a set of beliefs on a group of subjects” in the Israeli colonial system; as the debate has extended among scholars to investigating it as a “struggle to change words, a struggle over language, at the same time as it has been a struggle over legitimacy and about who has the right to define the usage of language” especially with the “the entry of women and ethnic minorities to positions of power”. It is a struggle over what is circulated by certain institutional settings; media in this particular, how they are kept in circulation, and the supportive discursive structures and frameworks. It questions how these structures are used to uncover the relationship between the discourse, the real and the symbolic following event-sequence, and their role in describing the discursive structures and their repetitions (Mills, 1997, 44, 115). It assigns structure to the real at the same time as it is a product and a moment of real structures’ (Frow, 1985,200).

This chapter details all the results, a full discussion, interpretation and evaluation. The results are linked inextricably to the theoretical framework. Chapter 4 subdivides into two major investigation fields under which data is analysed and discussed: the classic model of discursive of discursive constriction of the Other (section 4.1) and the dramatized construction of the New Palestinian Other: discussive structures of the extreme (section 4.2). (Section **Error! Reference source not found.**) provides a synthesis when comparisons, r esearch outcomes are tied together in relation to the theory, and rationale.

#### **4.1 THE CLASSIC OTHERING MODEL: DISCURSSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE OTHER**

Othering is a “struggle over-representation which construct[s]” the grounds within which debates about race were largely conducted and the typologies within which indigenous people and their descendants were forced to be categorized and to categorize themselves (Mills, 1997, 108; Young, 1995). Othering is one of the “linguistically-based practices unified in their common deployment in the management of colonial relations”. The colonized are reduced to objects of imperial knowledge ‘to incorporate a particular reality into a series of interlocking information orders’; ethnographic *inter alia* other orders (Pratt, 1992, 125).

Haaretz discursive construction of the Other proposes two approaches: the classical which tends to heavily rely on linguistics structures: time placements, sematic transformations including but limited to stereotypes, value-laden words, the repetitiveness of certain types of event-sequence, and the primacy of interdiscursivity and intertextuality, etc. a model that silences the colonized non-elite Other who is denied access to discourse; rather excluded. By this, simulacra are constituted, the Primacy of Knowlede and knowledge sharing become a tool of understanding how these females are consumed by perceivers and the way reality is negotiated. To this end, the non-elite Other categorization is divided into elite subaltern (whether non-compliant Other in his natural environment), non-elite subaltern, and non-compliant elite subaltern. This categorization applies to Ynet approach. The New Palestinian Model of the extreme is separately discussed (see Construction of the other Through the Drama of the extreme section 4.2)

Under this model, the Others are categorized into three constituents: The Other, the Challenging other, and the non-compliant. The following investigates how each model has

been discursively constructed under the Israeli colonial discourse limitations, constructions and mechanisms of argumentation and circulation; discourse is seen “as the general domain of the production and circulation of rule-governed statements”(Mills, 1997, 6).

Investigating Haaretz and Ynet's discursive constructions would provide a linguistic analysis of the discursive structures that constitute the social, including “objects” and social subjects. Analysis enables uncovering both the discursive features of the constructions in the Israeli news texts and power relations. The right to access to the discourse, the fight over representations, the repetitiveness of certain types of event-sequence structures, use of simulacra (negative images), generalizations, and time-placement inter alia other power revealing intrinsic tools are deconstructed. These discursive structures are pursued by a net of conceptual and procedural theory-driven schemata to uncover how they are set to discursively describe the colonized i.e. Palestinian females. These discursive structures are argued to constitute the colonial knowledge which is produced as facts not only in the inhabitant’s presence but also in their absence. Management of colonial analysis include the kind of voice does the media outlet exclude or allow access and “the type of structure he builds, the kind of images, themes, motifs that includes the kind of narrative voice he adopts, the type of structure he builds, the kind of images, themes, motifs that circulate in his text – all of which adds up to deliberate ways of structure he builds, the kind of images, themes, motifs that circulate in his text” that “deliberately address the reader; enclave [...the colonized Palestinian females] and [the way they] speak for [them] (Said, 1978, 20).

#### **4.1.1 Discursive Constructions of Othering in the Reporting of Haaretz**

This section provides a linguistic analysis of the **nature of the discursive constitutive** which determines the social; **and the practices** which are defined “by [...] relations with others”,

and how they “draw[...] upon others in complex ways’ is pursued - of news texts where “small-scale linguistic choices result in particular messages for the text as a whole” (Fairclough, 1992, 55; Trew, 1979, 94). Political analysis of the texts is attainable accordingly and the systematic analysis framework has integrated Foucault’s definition of discourse. To validate this analysis, the contributions of the colonial theorists, namely Edward Said’s notions on the systematic nature of representations and the “way that colonized countries were Othered by the colonial powers”, van Dijk and Fairclough’s procedural notions are integrated. Said’s notion on the homogeneity of the discourse shall not be relevant in the classic model where an understanding of the colonial subject, colonized elite and non-elite subaltern is pursued which perfectly fits well in Foucault's notion of discourses (see next section). It translates well in the New Other model.

Haaretz's coverage reveals a noticeable interest in the Palestinian females' reporting; (50) news articles reporting Palestinian females. News coverage unfolds into (5) major categorizations under which different discursive constructions and limitations are employed: Firstly: everyday life women and the “terrorist” female where Palestinian females are reported basically under, but not limited to, the lens of Orientalist frame (17 articles); secondly, peace activists basically, but not limited to, peace, love and what Philippe Muray calls the “Homo Festivus”<sup>11</sup> (12 articles) and the elite non-compliant subaltern i.e. those integrated in the colonial system but are unable to fully committed to all the obligations- for example: attending a Holocaust ceremony, which is tackled basically, but not limited to, under different techniques of bodily pressure (13 articles); thirdly, the racial discrimination

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<sup>11</sup> According to Philippe Muray, the *Hyper festive* refers to an unprecedented anthropological transformation that erases all the crucial differences (man/animal, private/public, masculine/feminine etc.) that made human History. In this way, the *Hyperfeste* is inseparable from a post-historical stage of which *Homo Festivus* is the happy inhabitant. See, for instance, Philippe Muray, *Le Portatif* (Paris: Editions Mille et Une Nuits, 2006), 42-50 as cited in (Clavel, 2017)

against Palestinian women which is tackled basically, but not limited to, under the reduction/simplification technique (5 articles); fourthly: the Israeli centric model which is tackled basically, but not limited to, under the occidental frame (1 article); and fifth, the economic factor i.e. the Arab-Israeli women participation in the Israeli economy which works basically, but not limited to, under the integration frame where the colonial project is reduced into an economic and industrial integration problem (3 articles).

#### **4.1.1.1 The Silenced at Work: Haaretz discursive Constructions of the Palestinian Female Other**

Under different categorizations, Haaretz tends to construct the Other. The selective reporting of Palestine females' day life on beach and maternity wards, and the terrorist female noticeably flow charts under different structures and constraints.

This extract from Ravit Hecht's Haaretz news article "No Freedom or Liberty or Fraternity in Burkini Ban, Just Racism" reports a Palestinian female to "to guess something of what a religious Muslim woman experienced on the beach" (Hechet, 2016). Not only a simple event "walking on the sea beach" is chosen and amplified because it is expected on part of the audience and achieves triumph and power, this event is "formed mainly by the amplification of existing societal expectations and attitudes but also her religious attitude; a Muslims by necessity (Babin, 1995; Sela-Shayovitz, 2007b, 201). Haaretz surrounds the other discourse "with a circle of attention and silence, and imposes ritualized forms on them" (Foucault, 1981, 51) where "exclusion is, in essence, paradoxically, one of the most important ways in which discourse is produced" (Mills, 1997, 67).

“I regularly bathe at a beach predominantly visited by **Arabs**, a large number of the **religious**. I don’t deny what I see. I see how the women and girls **arrive** – usually only in the early evening and often **with some supervising escort** – **wrapped from head to toe**. Some of them are **still children**. **They** sit on the sand in the July-August heat when **every living wanting** to get rid of every irksome additional fabric clinging to the skin. The **men don’t strip completely either**, but at least they’re allowed to stay in undershirts. The women **remain covered in heavy, dark fabrics**” (Hechet, 2016).

The subtle differences between the wrapped and those who would like to “get rid of every irksome additional fabric clinging to the skin” are amplified (ibid, 2016). These contradictions furnish the Merleau-Ponty basic concept of the horizon. The whole argumentation is based on contradictions not only in terms of these differences but also between two worlds: that of Muslim women and a Eurocentric model which is imposed an end-goal model by the colonizer- the French Law, per se. This controls constituents’ movement/absence as juxtaposed to two ends: the inferior and the supreme and accordingly, the linguistic choices which assert time scale and visual arrangement of classifications and nomenclature.

The beginning is the issue, the institution imposes ritualized forms on the Other i.e. regulate the access to discourse or processes of exclusion through prohibition’ or taboo. These speech acts - which take the Palestinian females on the beach up - would “transform them or speak of them” (Foucault, 1981, 56). By default, this kind of selectivity, is part of the visual framing constructions and the framings of the visual that “remain said, and are to be said again” (ibid, 1981, 57).

The colonized Other is being spoken for; not allowed access to discourse, “exclusion is, in essence, paradoxically, one of the most important ways in which discourse is produced” (ibid, 1981, 67). Thus, entry into discourse is seen to be inextricably linked to questions of authority and legitimacy ... each act somehow maps out the possible uses which can be made of that statement, or future rules for its use (Mills, 1997, 51). The colonized is decentered accordingly as “the most important structure of discourse is less its constituent parts but rather the function of exclusion” (ibid, 1997, 56). By this, “reporting becomes a way to “ritualization of speech, a qualification, and fixing of the roles for speaking subjects, the constitution of a doctrinal group, however diffuse, a distribution and an appropriation of discourse with its powers and knowledge’ (Foucault, 1981, 64).

The journalist preserves the right to the basic notion of the Foucauldian principle of commentary “I don’t deny what I see. I see how the women and girls **arrive**”. This keeps in circulation as legitimate knowledge. “Commentary attributes richness, density, and permanence”. “In this extract, the narrator reserves the use of the simple past tense for his actions (**‘I witnessed’, ‘I watched’**) and thus sets herself firmly in time and place; she uses the incidents she witnessed to then make emotional amplification as statements are published in the form of urgent facts (Hechet, 2016). Accordingly, this suggests generalizations about the culture as a whole and its beliefs, which he assumes everyone adheres to. Statements are made about the beliefs of the culture about death .... which represent the event ... as being simply an instance of a ‘fact’ about that culture” (Mills, 1997, 113)

The observer, accordingly, views itself as a judge and a referee. These internal discursive linguistic is processing under rarefaction; a discursive constraint, where “the utterances which could be produced by one person are theoretically infinite; remarkably repetitive and

remain within certain socially agreed-upon boundaries (Mills, 1997, 70). the effects on expression would transfer the utopic into heterotopic, and suggestions into reality frames.

This story is being told under observation; the female walking on the beach has no voice. By this, Haaretz applies both the exclusion of certain samples and preserves the right to commentary. The burqini designer is allowed access to discourse through a rigid system of classification. This is “to impose a sense of order and a set of restricted concerns on a range of texts which have little in common ... in the process of making global statements” (Mills, 1997; 72-73; Foucault, 1981) This inclusion of this representations is used to make the produced knowledge “look real and a copy of external reality” (Mills, 1997, 67)

These patterns also give evidence to the third type of “exclusion which maps out what can count as a statement and therefore part of a discursive framework i.e. a division between knowledge which is perceived to be true and that which is considered to be false” (ibid, 1997, 66). An illustration of this shift within the transition towards “the will of truth” in Haaretz which “which imposed on the knowing subject, and in some sense prior to all experience, a certain position, a certain gaze and a certain function (to see rather than to read, to verify rather than to make commentaries on” (Foucault,1981, 55). This can be found in the previous examples as “obsessive and legalistic compartmentalizing of the division between fact and fiction, truth and falsehood” (Davis, 1983; Mills, 1997,66).This obsession was translated “With the beginning of the production of ‘news’, that is, texts which purported to be recent, accurate representations of noteworthy events rather than representations of events which had a moral, symbolic or wider religious significance, there began to be forged a division between truth and falsehood” (ibid, 1997, 66). This will to truth is supported by media institutions as ISA’s under an “obsession with vraisemblance, to demonstrating that what was written was

a 'copy' of external reality; representations seem to many self-evident, and the search for 'truth' seems to some a possible goal for academic study (ibid, 1997, 67).

This discourse is directly running within Oriental boundaries "The women remain covered, **dark fabrics**" (Hechet, 2016). The journalist, an observer, reports: "they sit in the sand in July - when every living being wants to get rid of every irksome additional fabric clinging to the skin"; where a man is escorting women and work as a "modesty guard" and "watchful"; where "Muslim women who use that opaque swimwear .... was simply nauseating and the nausea is even stronger ....". the text is intertextualized. The "public fear of traditional dresses following the terror wave in the country" and the use of Taliban further amplifies the event (Hechet, 2016). It indirectly runs under a West-centric end-goal model; the French law has been imposed in for comparison "the French Law is repulsive".

The same shunning introduction was used by Amira Hass in her article "What Drives Palestinian Women Shot at Israeli Checkpoints to Their Deaths?" to report Palestinian females on checkpoints being killed by the Israeli army. This informative medium controls the tragedy of death which cannot be marketed to the West; which defines the other as an enemy because his "physical death is warranted by their existential denial of our being" (Mbembe, 2016, 26). This oriental background is published as if it is urgent. let's consider these examples: "The figure of a woman wrapped in a black robe, with her face covered by a veil" the driver warned her but she did not listen, his comment "I drove, I didn't want to die" (Hass, 2016a). These details, irrelevant to death are plastered in to change the shape of the original prototype; leading to its destruction and replacement with ready-made archetypes with an ultimate aim of control over the portrayed; a disciplinary procedure in the Foucauldian sense. It further makes the scene move within contradictory scenes and permits

the horizon of anticipation of the future in Merleau-Ponty's philosophy of horizons (Babin,1995).

The intent of the Palestinian female to die is constructed through a contrast between the one who wants to die and the one who wants to live; a basic grounding tool of amplification. The Palestinian female Other is Orientalized in taking her own life under occupation, where alterities of death are not taken into consideration because they are “difficult to discuss within Western societies” (Mills, 1997, 64). Notwithstanding, Haaretz tends to proliferate its discourse about the colonized female Other around terrorism, inferiority, “us” and “them”. Occidentalism (supremacy), and Orientalism (inferiority). The Other is introduced by death and sexism as actors but in a shunned way.

An analysis of the Linguistic structures help to understand the constitutive nature of the discourse and its circulation (Foucault,1981,56). To this end, Haaretz's discursive linguistic syntactic and semantic constructions are deeply projected under this study.

Time-placement choices first for the categorization i.e. terrorist females and women of everyday life reserve the use of the simple past tense and active voice. The present tense, the ethnocentric present, and the passive voice. are vehemently maintained. Ravit Hecht uses the present tense to describe her actions “I regularly bath”, “see” “I can’t deny”, etc. This emotional amplification which reproduced the situation in an informative medium and publishes the observations as facts. Meanwhile, she uses the present tense to spotlight the lack of freedoms and rights in the Palestinian society; and the oppression of the Islamic social order. By this, she not only describes the indigenous cultural but also reduces it into symbols such as the “veil”, “burkini”, and men behaving as “modesty guards”. Such a movement between contradictions creates comparisons. A European-end model “the French Law is

repulsive” is simplifies the colonial situation into a mere comparison between inferiors and modern. Let’s consider this example: “Continuing what Zanetti said, it’s really hard to decide who is more barbarous – those who deny women air and sun, or those who, to calm themselves, criminally generalize and coerce others to change their customs” (Hechet, 2016).

The amplified Occidental values of the Israeli society are traced in line with an amplified contrast between the top and the bottom. For example, the title of the article preserves the use of the ‘ethnographic present. This suggests that the Palestinian females are ‘humans’ and ‘people’, but they are presented in a form different than the colonial subject (Fabian, 1983, 81–82). The use of this time placement fosters the change of type which can be traced in different articles.

In Avit Shahini’s new article “Domestic violence is a major threat for Israeli Arab Women. Why Won’t the Police Intervene”, time placement of ethnographic present can be traced in the background statements describing murder and criminality in the Arab society such as “let then kill each other”; “but it is not a phenomenon: it is our reality” (Shani, 2016). It can be followed as well in Amira Hass’s article: “What Drives Palestinian Women Shot at Israeli Checkpoints to Their Deaths?”. This article provides examples for this amplification of the oriental background and the ethnographic time placement. Let’s consider these examples: “Not only women come to the checkpoints suspiciously and out of despair, but also young men”; “in a traditional society that doesn’t view suicide positively, death at the hands of a soldier may seem like a good way out” (Hass, 2016a). This suggests a change of shape where the conflict is reduced into a pattern of oppositional dichotomies which negatively portrays the Palestinian females. Another example can be traced in Jack Khoury’s article where present and past are interplayed. “More Israeli Arab Women Out of Work Despite Government Funding”.

This article reports on the economic factor and asserts a gap: “The gap between working Israeli Arab women and Israeli Jewish women also **remains** a chasm, with the employment rate among the latter 79.7%. The government’s employment rate goal for Israeli Arab women is 41% by 2020” (Khoury, 2016). The present tense reveals a cognitive stance towards its object . . . it presupposes the givenness of the object of anthropology as something to be observed (Fabian, 1983, 81–82). The ethnographic present, “‘freeze[s]’ the society at the time of observation; at worst, it contains assumptions about the repetitiveness, predictability, and conservatism of time of primitives” (ibid, 1983, 81–82). It turns the colonized into objects of knowledge and homogenizes the colonized especially with the use of the third person “s/he’ producing global statements about them especially as “pronouns and verb forms in the third person mark the Other outside the dialogue. He (she or it) is not spoken to but posited (predicated) as that which contrast the personness of the participants” (ibid, 1983, 81–82). This can be widely traced talking about she terrorist, oppressed, having economic problems, etc. According to Achille Mbembe “It’s as if the colonial event belonged to another age and another place, and as if it had absolutely nothing to teach us about how to understand our modernial event belonged to another age and another place, and as if it had absolutely nothing to teach us about how to understand our modernity, about citizenship, about democracy, even about the development of our humanities.”(Mbembe, 2006)

The ethnographic present is used to report about a gap between the “us”, “the Israelis” who exert all efforts to upgrade the Other; to make “her” a more civilized entity. “The niche previously occupied becomes backward and uncivilized. Creating the temporal identity of successful states, turned violence and use of force into a legitimate practice as part of the disciplinary practices” (Fernández & Esteves, 2017, 199).

This can be traced as well in the reporting's on the Israeli segregation practices against Palestinian females. Let's take Ido Efrati's article "Another Terrorist Is Born': The Long-standing Practice of Racism and Segregation in Israeli Maternity Wards". It heavily dwells on the use of the ethnographic present to foster oriental assumptions and justifications:

"The situation of Palestinian women is more complex a priori. They are usually very young, usually 18, most of them don't speak Hebrew and they typically come with their mother-in-law". "Reshet Bet radio has reported that hospitals such as Hadassah University Hospital, Ein Karem and Hadassah University Hospital, Mount Scopus in Jerusalem, Ichilov in Tel Aviv, and Meir in Kfar Sava direct Arab and Jewish women to separate rooms, either automatically or at the women's request" (Efrati, 2016).

The choice of this background creates contrasts between them and us. The simplification of racism in Israeli maternity awards reduces the tragedy into a well-patterned oppositional dichotomy and further creates contradictions not only between the colonial subject and the objectified colonized but also between two worlds. In constancy, the present freezes the state of Otherization of the Palestinian females and reduces the segregation into a state where the Other is responsible for his suffering. Let's consider this excerpt:

"This ward **deals** with healthy people. Delivery nurses have to be soft and supportive, but some of them can't show empathy to Palestinian women, who are often treated disrespectfully, with family members rudely removed. Attitudes are often cold and harsh. When there are security concerns it's much worse, with nurses making comments like 'here's another terrorist' after a delivery. If I were a Palestinian woman I wouldn't go there" (Efrati, 2016).

Clearly, “the reports” on the Others’ “illness and suffering are only the vehicles” to display the Other “own worthlessness in relation to this greater power, who is shown to be supremely merciful, even when [this power] appears to be most cruel” (Mills, 1997, 84). This reveals in Rabbi Yehoshua Looks’ news article “Hospitals in the U.S. and Israel: Reflections of Their Respective Societies”. this systematic time placement serves to fracture the justification of racism and to justify racism through Eurocentric modelling of the “the racist America” and Occidentalism. “If America is a melting pot, Israel is a *cholent/hamin*”. The present is used to freeze the Israeli model of values “Our distinctiveness and our values shine in our Israeli hospitals” (Looks, 2016). To this end, the present implies that there is no possibility of change in the indigenous cultures “discriminatory attitudes and the extended pattern of justification is also reflected in bedside manners.

The past tense is used in Ido Efrati’s article to report the reactions to Israeli racism and the Israeli officials’ discriminatory utterances. This implies that their statements belong to the distant past “The report, which touches a sensitive area of friction relating to demography, discrimination, and medicine, has raised a storm”. Habayit Hayehudi (the Jewish House-written in Arabic letters in the original text) MK Bezalel Smotrich rushed to inflame the situation by tweeting sarcastically that it was only natural that his wife would want to lie beside a woman who had just given birth to a baby who might want to murder her baby in 20 years” (Efrati, 2016). The use of this time placement fosters the dramatic technique of contradiction where contrast is created with an event that will happen; opening wide the horizon of anticipation.

Amira Hass’s news article “What Drives Palestinian Women Shot at Israeli Checkpoints to Their Deaths? tends to use the simple past when reporting the Palestinian females under Oriental backgrounding amplification and the semantic use of negative structures. Let’s

consider this systematic repetitive of semantic choices: traditional dress, veil, wrapped in black, domestic violence, honour killing, criminals, the terrorist, face-covered, run over soldiers, they had at home various forms of violence, untreated depression, come to checkpoints out of despair, low participation in work market due to social barriers such as objections to female relatives working, etc (Hass, 2016a). let's consider these repetitive statements: "she was stopped and warned that the soldiers would kill her", "Palestinian females decided to die", "Allahu Akhbar", "took a knife from her bag", "armed with a knife", "want to be arrested", "arrested for social reasons", "was killed at a checkpoint", "did intend to harm a soldier", "she did not respond to soldiers warning", "are kept apart in delivery rooms", "they are assigned rooms separately", "mothers request that separation in maternity wards", "traditional society", "the village trapped behind the separation wall", "sentenced to prison", etc (Hass, 2016; Cohen & Berger, 2016; Looks, 2016).

Such representations are seen by Edward Said as playing an important role in the maintenance and consolidation of colonial rule". "Description .... is never an innocent act of merely producing information, but is always inflected by the power relations of the colonial context" (Mills, 1997, 115). This is conjured with an amplification of the background choice of indigenous culture stereotypes; where negative images relate to the ways people are portrayed including body descriptions.

Hass starts reporting with this statement: "The figure construction of a woman **wrapped in a black robe with her face covered by a veil attracted** drivers' attention" (Hass, 2016a). It appears in a manual as a representation of the way the depictions of Palestinian females are standardly arranged; a well-patterned oriental structure. This simplifies the colonized presence and females' struggle. It emotionally amplifies the reproduced tragedy of death by the publishing of these descriptions as facts. These utterances have some "institutional force

and are thus validated by some form of authority (arguments)— those utterances which for her would be classified as ‘in the true’: rules of some discursive “police” which would have to be reactivated every time one spoke” (Foucault, 1972, 224).

In Hass’s article, words are spoken on The Palestinian female Other behalf: “her family and the municipality have been preoccupied with the question of when the Israeli authorities would transfer her body” (Hass, 2016a). The Palestinian females' shape is changed; females are reduced and objectified into a property of a dead body and guardianship. The story is simplified into a matter of traditional society which care for guarding females' bodies; a generalization that surpasses life and death under this colonial limitation.

Both the oriental elements and the past tense implicitly tells that Palestinian females are living in a different culture and a different time scale. By this institutional imposition, the Palestinian female is not allowed to exist on its terms; outside the construction of ‘mimicries” (Bhabha, 1994).

Distant past tense use in articles such as Jack Khoury piece denies Palestinian females ‘coevalness”: “The report’s authors explain that the unemployment rate among Arab women stems from a low labor supply, flawed public transportation and social barriers such as objections to female relatives working, among other reasons” (Khoury, 2016). The use of these statements that tell or imply backwardness, primitiveness, criminality, etc. to describe the colonized as a ‘developing country’ and ‘pre-industrial ‘countries asserts supremacy and maintains Fabian’s proposition that ‘there is no knowledge of the Other which is not also a temporal, historical, a political act’ (Fabian, 1983, 1).By this timescale, superiority is implicitly asserted (Fabian, 1983, ix), by grammatical features, the Other is marked off from

the realms of humanity” (Mills, 1997, 114); it justifies terror and colonial practices against the inhabitants and “their attempts to exterminate them” (Holms as cited in *ibid*, 1997, 118).

Both the oriental elements and the past tense implicitly tell that Palestinian females are living in a different culture and a different time scale. By this institutional imposition, the Palestinian females are not allowed to exist on their terms i.e. outside the construction of ‘mimicries’ (Bhabha, 2012). Hass tends to visually represent all Palestinian female Others educated/ non-educated as terrorists, who “has decided to die” (Hass, 2016a). This background allows for visually making the personal information about a female perpetrator, university education, cloth description and willingness to take their own lives salient. It feeds upon contradictions where the abrupt movement between contradictory dualities leads to highlighting subtle differences and simplifies the conflict into an oriental well-patterned oppositional dichotomy and constitute for truth-claims.

The repetitiveness of certain types of event-sequence can be pursued and described not only in the presence of the colonized but also in their absence (Pratt, 2007). This best appeals to itself through the choice of passive/active voice constructions.

The use of passive voice aims at making the actions of the Palestinians, not the colonial Israeli forces, more salient. Where the colonized is being placed first, the responsibility of the colonial occupation is minimized or exonerated: “Ten of the prisoners were injured during their arrest’. By this ambivalence, changes are made. The power of the colonized is enlarged. This is attained by the creation of subtle contrast between two equal powers. Contradictions are highlighted. The spectacular horizon of expectations is open and the legality of the response to the Other is activated as part of hegemonic tactics: blaming the victim and trophying justifications. This further simplifies the struggle into a conflict between equal

powers; most dangerously, it reduces the colonial power into a disciplinary and legal regime. The colonized, in turn, is objectified as a background; turned into a spectacle. Through amplification, the event is given value.

In different words, Passive/active constructions are describing the traces and ‘emptying’ the landscape of human presence. The ‘native’ is erased from consideration as media describes everything on the ground by claiming the indigenous are lacking. In the Foucauldian sense, this creates discourses in conflict. Semantic transformation of words such as the Palestinians with terrorists, inferior, criminals, etc. implicitly makes a value judgment in the headlines and the stretch of news texts (Trew, 1979, 94).

Active voice is used to describe the negative practices of the Other. Let’s consider these examples: ”they typically come to hospitals with their mothers in law”; “the woman entered the area around a military base”; “it is possible that she wanted to commit suicide”; “she was driven to put an end to her life”; and “prisoners have also lost hope of being freed in prisoner swaps” (Levy & Levac, 2016b; Hass, 2016b).

An interplay of active/passive is patterned. It adds to understanding of how statements are factorized. Those utterances and texts make some form of truth-claim and are ratified as knowledge; accordingly they can be classified as statements; They appear “in a manual as a representation of the way the letters of a keyboard are standardly arranged’ (Dreyfus & Rabinow,1982,45). Foucault’s archaeological analysis is concerned with the systems of support which govern the production and the ordering of these statements and, more importantly perhaps, the systems whereby other utterances are excluded from the position of being ‘in the true’ and therefore being classified as statements. (Mills, 1997, 61-62). This happens as when an airline steward makes the same announcement in several different

languages; “the constancy of the statement, the preservation of its identity through the unique events of the enunciations, its duplication through the identity of the forms are constituted by the functioning of the field of use in which it is placed” (Foucault, 1972, 104)

Howsoever, there are different representational and argumentative frameworks of the same statement depicting “the Palestinian females”. These representations are duplicated as the identity of the Palestinian females is changed. All in all, these frames emotionally amplify these statements and keep them in place and as being in “true”.

Discursive “Police rules” and dramatization which would have to be reactivated every time one spoke’ are strictly obeyed (ibid, 1972, 224). This continues repetitively as if an airline steward makes the same announcement in several different languages. Let’s consider these negative image depictions: the Palestinian females are cold “withered branches”; “educated women naturally defer marriage”; and they are under ethnic and gender slavery: “double slavery”; “bled to death, in a harrowing coincidence”; “Relatives of the woman told Haaretz Sunday that two years ago the woman’s former partner abducted her and tried to kill her, but she managed to escape”, “they said that he used to beat her, and since they parted had prevented her from seeing her four children”; “Israeli Arab who wielded knife in hopes of being killed”, “divorcee”, suffering “psychological evaluation commissioned by the social affairs ministry, a “ticking bomb” and describing “the danger she poses” (Shtarkman, 2016; Levy & Levac, 2016b; Yaron, 2016; Shpigel & Khoury, 2016). Not only are these psychological, oriental, suicidal, but are also set as a background that emotionally amplifies the event as true; the prototype i.e. the Other is destroyed through shape/ identity change. As the horizon of expectation is open, the discursive linguistic structures work under the Foucauldian second exclusion procedure to preclude the exclusion of this malformed identity and justify liquidation. “The discourse of those who are considered insane and therefore not

rational not given credence” is given away through “an array of statements, artifacts, and practices which would now be considered morbid or sentimental, but which allowed discussions” and argumentation on the Palestinian females' life and death (Mills, 1997, 65).

The Other is constructed through a pattern of Semantic Structures. These statements serve as generalizations that turn peoples of cultus into “less communities of individuals than an indistinguishable mass, about whom one could amass ‘knowledge’ or which could be stereotyped” and suggests “anomalous in relation to a Western norm” (Mills, 1997, 109). Oriental stereotypes are heavily used. Let’s consider these patterns: “with supervising escorts”, “wrapped from head to toe”, “in heavy dark fabrics” (Hechet, 2016). These stereotypes recur intertext as in these examples: “a picture of a father or a husband, I don’t know which, leading four young women in black, completely covered, into the water”, “the modesty guard is that watchful”, “traditional dresses”, “struggle for woman rights”, deny women air and sun”, ongoing oppression and poor education” (Hechet, 2016). These stereotypes dehumanize the colonized Palestinian females and foster generalization of a less and alien culture (Said, 1972). Contradictory scenes are created by abruptly moving between those who “sit on the sand in the July-August heat” and “every living being [who] wants to get rid of every irksome additional fabric clinging to the skin”, between the terrorists and modernist: “who is better; the Taliban or the French politicians? (Hechet, 2016).

These semantic structures not only juxtapose and highlight subtle differences but also amplify the Israeli Occidental and the Euro-centric models as a goal end and referee for representing the colonized. This “ideological work of transmitting the voices of power” comes “in a disguised and covert form” (Fairclough, 1992, 110). Patterning is repetitive elsewhere taking about the liberal theory practices, the difficulty to see this which implies that the indigenous culture is not imaginable for the Colonial power and the enforcement of French law on the

burkini. This can be traced in this excerpt “**I wasn’t convinced by her arguments**, but understood that this was her free, authentic will – even if the values are alien to me, and which I see as the internalization of the ongoing oppression of poor education” (Hechet, 2016).

Let’s consider these examples which create contradictions: “It’s not really an option for a woman to forgo marriage simply because she hasn’t found a suitable man. That’s not the norm. Alternatives to marriage, like the ones that exist in the Jewish society, are nonexistent among the Arab population”, “suddenly, Jewish society, which is also an important agent of socialization, is revealed to them”, “then the young women develop expectations of equal rights as a gender group, of freedom of expression and self-fulfillment”, “then to return to a social system that is still functioning in a traditional way – of course it’s a disappointment” (Shtarkman, 2016).

To sum, a new paradigm is internalized to the classic colonial discursive West end goal mechanism is introduced: The Occidental and Israeli-centric model. Not only this, through emotional amplification, the Arab world is introduced as a counter-centric model. An oriental-based comparison between the situation of Palestinian -Israeli females and those in the Arab is reproduced to control the tragedy of the Palestinian female tragedy. Not only they are blamed under the use of discursive patterns under power relations, but also consciousness is manipulated. Comparison based on the contradiction between the Arab world inferiority and the Israeli Occidental, modern in this case by necessity, is triggered. Palestinian women are to choose what world to belong to under this dramatization and simplification. This knowledge, is, after all, produced as truth. Let’s consider this agenda-set interview between the journalist and an elite an elite subaltern (a topic discussed in length in the coming section).

Q: You must have heard the claim that your situation would be worse in Arab states.

A: “Yes. People say it to my face when I talk about discrimination: ‘You are an Arab lecturer in a university – where else would that be possible?’ (ibid, 2016).

Let’s consider this example: “Those who hold people more important than “humanity” feel the burning physical desire that overcomes every dry liberal theory – the desire that every woman be free to dip in the sea or do anything else, without limitations, covers and supervisors” (Hechet, 2016). The Palestinian female beach walkers are observed, objectified and spectacted, and more importantly emotionally produced as a homogeneous group under this selective informative medium and the abrupt move between contractions not only with humans and free-will people but also between present Palestinian Other societal impositions and horizon of the colonial power expectations of the “New Palestinian female”. “Palestinians children are not excluded “Some of them are still children” (ibid, 2016).

Nomenclature, like a generalization, is a discursive semantic pattern used to classify the Other. It dehumanizes the colonized. Let’s consider these examples: “ticking bomb,” “demographic danger”, “terrorist”, “There’s no freedom or liberty or fraternity here, but sloppily handled hysteria and the institutionalization of popular racism” (Shpigel & Khoury, 2016; Hechet, 2016). The produced knowledge seemingly looks like ‘objective’ statements but they are factorized as part of the powerful discursive tools of classifications, evaluation, and denigration.

Besides using the same semantic time placements and discursive structures, Aylett Shani’s news article “Domestic Violence Is a Major Threat for Israeli Arab Women. Why Won’t the Police Intervene? Changes the shape under the enlargement of oriental stereotypes, nomenclatures, and generalizations such as “domestic violence”, “honor killing”; the criminality frame is amplified as well. Haaretz uses the indigenous culture narration to

salience contradictions that negatively depict Palestinian females; to simplify the struggle against colonialism (Shani, 2016). This helps to create a shift in the perceivers' mind as the victim is blamed for its atrocities and the non-ability of the police, usually introduced under the mechanism of ambiguity through passive voice, to intervene and prevent crimes. Let's consider these examples: "Did your brother murder your sister?" They said no. He told me, "What do you want me to do? They said he didn't commit the murder. Someone also cleaned up the whole site with bleach." I said to him, "I watch television, just like you. I know there is technology – I know that if the police want to link someone with a murder, they can find the way to do it" (ibid, 2016). This article gives examples to another discursive hegemonic tool: the access to discourse - a Foucauldian discursive tool. Noticeably, the voice of the Palestinian females is silenced, the journalist and the newspaper as ISAs are taking for them. Elite subalterns, state apparatus representatives such as the police and the journalist/newspaper are allowed access within the same discursive.

"[Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu promised her [on that occasion] that "the murderers of your family will be in jail within a year."

Question: If Netanyahu promised, she can relax"

Answer: Sure. How is she supposed to believe the police and the state if the prime minister lies to her? How does he expect us to flock to the police stations when we don't trust the police? (ibid, 2016).

Under discursive limitations within which the desired subaltern should remain, "theoretically infinite" repetitive utterances that remain "within socially agreed boundaries" are produced (Mills, 1997, 70).

By controlling access to discourse and turn shifts, the Other's discourse is subject to rarefication and the constituted archive would lay the bases for further argumentations to

negotiate reality. Epistemes are subject to a linguistic shift which is in “itself part of the rearticulating of the relationship between the public domain of the political ... events and social agents, and the private domain, the domain of the ‘lifeworld’, of common experience” (Fairclough, 1992, 110). This pre-set agenda interview invests different framings and contributes to creating the challenging "Other" model that totally trusts and subjugates the Israeli regime (full discussion in section 4.1.1.2).

Ethnic prejudice is further enhanced by the amplification of Value-laden statements which constitutes a background that gives value to the news event. Let's consider these examples: “There's something outrageous about it”, “It's a difficult sight”, “barbarous”, “negative thing” “even if the values are alien to me, and which I see as the internalization of ongoing oppression or poor education”; “The number of Palestinians from the West Bank and Jerusalem who have been killed by Israeli security forces ... Some committed **fatal terrorist attacks**, some caused injuries, others threatened people or were suspected of preparing to attack an Israeli” (Hechet, 2016; Hass, 2016a). They are presented as facts; as part of the colonial practices justification pattern; no argumentation is allowed “at the beginning of the current privatized uprising, women were angry that people concluded that a young woman who joined the tide and tried to attack a soldier was suspected of being motivated by reasons not “nationalist”(Hass, 2016a). The factious becomes factual status because of its “production within the colonial nexus of power relations” (Mills, 1997, 109).

The homogeneity of the group can be traced in a pattern of emotionally amplified sequences that are given as facts. This reveals in the different excerpts: “the most illogical reason for criminalizing the swimwear is security - the burkini bans”; “1,170 people have been murdered in Arab communities, 90 percent of them with firearms”; “that includes violence against women, among criminals who are settling accounts with each other and also innocent

victims”; “Palestinian girls commit suicide”; “a “terrorist who was walking toward a Border Police post aroused the fighters”; “When the terrorist drew near, she took out a knife and brandished it with the aim of stabbing one of the fighters (Kaplan Sommer, 2016; Shani, 2016; Levy & Levac, 2016b). The fighters, who felt concrete and immediate mortal danger, fired with precision and neutralized the terrorist. It should be emphasized that an investigation of the incident shows that the fighters acted according to proper procedures and that their vigilance apparently saved lives”. It is not only the colonized females who are generalized for being terrorists and objectified by the use of certain words like “neutralize”, but also the Israeli army is generalized as being endangered and taking a backlash. Most dangerously, they are portrayed as fighters and therefore the colonial identity is preserved moral.

In the colonial context, words are usually replaced to stereotype and classify the other and to create a background that gives value to the event. In the Israeli context, in news reporting on Palestinian females, the semantic transformations and vocabulary substitution is a recurrent discursive structure; Israeli “soldiers” is replaced by the word “fighters”, for example. This opens the way to track this discursive tool in different texts and contexts. To exemplify, the word struggle in a colonial context usually recalls the political. Hence, in Ravit Hecht’s piece, the word is used in a social context where the struggle is amplified as an internal Palestinian societal fight to gain education and rights. In a different context, “slavery” which has intertextuality with the colonial context and blacks has been shifted in Shtarkman’s piece into a “double slavery” under a patriarchal Palestinian society; it is discursively detached from its colonial context. It suggests an epistemic shift as it refers to the Patriarchal traditional system and norms on the one side and the Palestinian men occupying “the highly regarded, well-paid workplaces which afford them social and economic clout”.

Tension, confrontations and independence are usually conjured with conflicts; still, in Shtarkman's article, they are related to the societal tensions that arise when Palestinian females acquire education and as a result of men's sense of threat. All these discursive argumentations are emotionally amplified as true claims. Statistics are used in support. These discursive structures are accompanied by the use of metaphors such as 'modesty guard', 'struggle', the burkini 'penetrate one's head and heart', "armed with a knife" "wage peace", women are "ahens" or "weathered branches", "sick and maimed", "satisfy the evil inclination", "volatile", etc (Hechet, 2016; Hasson et al., 2016; Maltz, 2016; Shtarkman, 2016; Bar'el, 2016; Efrati, 2016). For the same purpose. Generalizations and group homogeneity are further amplified. By this hegemonic technique, the Palestinian females have portrayed all creatures, still, human characteristics are not stressed. They are all the same, belong to a subhuman group but have always lived this way. Let's consider these examples: "no one suggested that she left for the checkpoint as part of the battle against the occupation"(Hass, 2016a). They are denied history, political right to resist, and the possibility of change described simply as anomalous in relation to the West., exotic spectacle, source of speechless amazement, a description based on conjecture, not scientific inquiry. They are emotionally amplified and counted as knowledge, factual, and" authorized as part of a larger accretive knowledge system which characterized colonized nations as inferior and as subhuman" (Mills, 1997, 111).

The new uses of these words would destroy contexts and reveal the limits within with the Israeli media discourse is allowed to move. It also suggests that occupation is not allowed access to discourse; it is positively excluded. Haaretz's media discourse is discursively structured to exonerate the Israeli occupation of the responsibility of atrocities and racial practices. They further reduce and simplify the colonial/colonizer conflict which is totally obscured and simplified into a feminist gendered conflict against the social patriarchal order,

indigenous culture, and men. Suggestions are made for the Palestinian females: to be elite subaltern following an amplified Israeli occidental /euro-centric model.

In colonial contexts, the “indigenous people were described as idle, weak, corrupt, their buildings were dirty, their culture a decaying version of a past grandeur” (ibid, 1997, 114). The Israeli colonial system is not an exception/Negative images might be excessive and relate to certain discourses: terrorism, inferiority, body descriptions, etc. as the “features which could be framed within this derogatory system” (ibid, 1997, 115). Let’s consider these examples: “[Palestinian] women are not succeeding in capitalizing on their progress to bring about a transformation of the existing social order”, “Those who hold people more important than “humanity” feel the burning physical desire that overcomes every dry liberal theory – the desire that every woman be free to dip in the sea or do anything else, without limitations, covers and supervisors”, “Verses from the Koran and poetry emphasize that a martyr’s death is a source of pride” (Shtarkman, 2016; Hechet, 2016; Hass, 2016a). Foucault argues for that “knowledge is often the product of the subjugation of objects, or perhaps it can be seen as the process through which subjects are constituted as subjugated” (Mills, 1997, 21).

To activate an object, it has to be either called into existence by allowing the object “entry into discourse” (ibid, 1997, 51). As they “are constituted as subjugated, the human being truly becomes a subject – that is, separated from the animals – in the struggle and the work through which he or she confronts death (understood as the violence of negativity). Becoming subject therefore supposes upholding the work of death” (Mbembe, 2008, 154).

Noticeably, in return, access to the ultra-orthodox Jewish community and their deviation from the Eurocentric model upon which the colonized Palestinian society is judged is totally excluded. No comparisons are triggered. Shatarkman argumentation builds on early

marriages, women wrapped from head to toe in the black fabric even in hot weather, fertility issues, mixed marriages, education, patriarchal regime, husband escort, and guardianship, etc. these are also characteristics of the great part of the Israeli society. Hence, they are positively tabooed access to the Haaretz media discourse to obscure and simplified.

Haaretz constitutes the Palestinian female Other through the primacy of interdiscursivity and Fairclough's modification of Julia Kristeva's term of 'intertextuality', ambivalence, and disjunction. In terms of the relational nature of Haaretz discourse, the previous constituents and constraints of discourse reveal the imposition of power of the colonial self and the constitution of the Other under discursive constraints and systems of exclusion or provisional inclusion. The shaping process of the female Others and their identity extends to "the propensity of texts to refer to others and to be constructed by that reference to other texts" where they become "discursive mechanisms which bring about change within discourses" (Mills, 1997, 153).

Intertextuality plays a grounding role in this Ravit Hecht's news article; the Muslim Arab women (Palestinians) who walk on the Mediterranean beach are linked to Taliban and the "wave of Terror" and "fear" using the Islamophobia and International Islamic frame; they are interlinked to the French citizens "rejoicing cries and racist comments – was simply nauseating and nausea" (Hechet, 2016). This grounds for Rotem Shtarkman's work "always stuck with Arab girlfriends ...there is an initial encounter after leaving the village", "minority" problems, "patriarchal family", "social order", etc. These epistemes serve as generalizations that stereotype the Palestinian female context (Shtarkman, 2016). In this regard, the patterns of access in Ravit Hecht's piece reveal a major voice other than the journalist, the newspaper, the French law, and the French citizens; it is the burkini designer Aheda Zanetti. She is allowed access to discourse; allowed to speak as part of the academic

discipline and concept of ownership. Her contribution to the burkini which was invented to “give women freedom, not to take it away” goes in line with all voices which are allowed access. The only voices allowed access allowed in Rotem Shtarkman’s is the voice of technological sociologist Ph.D. Palestinian female- the Foucauldian principle of academic discipline. A double aim is achieved: the specialist Ph.D. holder is actually “shifting and constraining topic in accordance with a pre-set agenda, which the patient [the colonized] is not being allowed to disturb’ and “disregards the information which relates to the problem” (Mishler, 141 as cited in (Mills,1997,152-3).

This voice introduces the elite subaltern; the Other of the Palestinian Other which is constructed not only by who is talking but by discursive structures such as “how families from the new Arab middle class behave” “accepting the Other [the colonizer]” “paving the way for their children to be connected with the majority”. there is the Newspaper-journalist voice which provides “discourse of a series consists technological medicine of seemingly unconnected questions which focus only on certain aspects of the patient’s life and behaviour; the discourse of the patient’s lifeworld focuses on the illness which the patient has in relation to all other aspects of the patient’s life” (ibid,1997,153). The questions are both directing according to a present Oriental agenda and stereotypical framings of the Palestinian female Other: “So being a single mother is out of the question? Tradition is too powerful? Does it generate domestic husband-wife conflicts? Do Arab men cook, take the children to the doctor?” (Shtarkman, 2016). “The discourse of technological medicine consists of a series of seemingly unconnected questions which focus only on certain aspects of the patient’s life and behaviour; the discourse of the patient’s lifeworld focuses on the illness which the patient has in relation to all other aspects of the patient’s life” (Fairclough, 1992, 135).

A hybrid system of classifications using stereotyping, generalization and nomenclature turns into a grounding structure for viewing reality and shaping the portrayed identity as the media “texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones” (Fairclough, 1992, 103). This helps to uncover how the epistemes - “sets of statements (énoncé) grouped into different discourses or discursive frameworks” that “ground of thought on which at a particular time some statements – and not others – will count as knowledge’ (Mills, 1997, 60; Macdonnell, 1986: 87 as cited in Mills, 1997, 60). They map, determine views of reality and the group of discourses in a way that makes up the structures of episteme, coherent and cohesive, heterogeneous materials into very rigidly systems of classification, constitute world-view) or the “hybrid system of meticulous classification transferred to the description of indigenous people are formed (Young, 1995).

The given examples allow evidence to a coherent, cohesive and well-arranged “ground of thought on which at a particular time some statements – and not others – will count as knowledge’ (Macdonnell, 1986: 87 as cited in (Mills, 1997). This knowledge division into fact/falsehood is by virtue a tool of exclusion. It further establishes a pattern of the repetitiveness of certain epistemes regarding clothing, social order, terror, etc. The authorized “truth-claims (and how many do not?). “Ratified as knowledge can be classified as statements” (Mills, 1997, 61). They serve to support argumentations. “The constancy of the statement, the preservation of its identity through the unique events of the enunciations, its duplication through the identity of the forms are constituted by the functioning of the field of use in which it is placed” (Foucault, 1972, 104). These movements towards the ‘will to truth’, “imposed on the knowing subject, and in some sense prior to all experience, a certain position, a certain gaze and a certain function (to see rather than to read, to verify rather than to make commentaries on)” (Foucault, 1981, 55).

In addition to the previous Othering Techniques, the discourse(s) constructions are further conceptualized. groups of statements, type of knowledge, which has similar force – that is, they are grouped together because of some institutional pressure, because of a similarity of provenance or context, or because they act in a similar way. The most important is the statements and “the way they coalesce into discourses or discursive formations and take some of their force from such groupings” (Mills, 1997, 63). They depict a negative portrayal of Palestinian women in a different culture. This symbolic system of iconicity and referrals helps to interpret the structured events and discourses: the oriental indigenous culture discourse, the international Islamic terror, the Western-centric and occidental discourse, the desired subaltern discourse. The Israeli discursive hegemonic power paradigm suggests countermodels for establishing intertextuality to terror and alike societal suppression patriarchal systems, for creating deprecatory comparison and for more subjugation of the Palestinian females. It creates a symbolic referential to the Arab and Islamic (Taliban) counter-model where symbolic inferiority and oriental framings are established as part of a discourse understood by the West/American and has been traditionally used in the colonial regimes for justifying the Other extermination. It serves as well to subjugate Palestinian females claiming that their rights under the Israeli occupation are better as this excerpt reveals:

*Question: You must have heard the claim that your situation would be worse in Arab states.*

*Answer: “Yes. People say it to my face when I talk about discrimination: ‘You are an Arab lecturer in a university – where else would that be possible?’ (Shtarkman, 2016)*

They validate the colonial dichotomy between we “the broad-minded, educated, secular person who was raised on enlightenment and rationalism” “human beings” and them – the

Others: “the religious, modesty guards”, suffering “oppression or poor education” barbarous wrapped in fabric, etc. it highlights two referral ends: the Israeli and the West vs the Patriarchal traditional village. In addition to the previously tracked discursive structures, these dichotomies work as highly repetitive epistemes that trigger both the primacy of knowledge and justifies the colonial interference to upgrade or efface the Other.

Using the scalpel of reduction, the problem of occupation is being tabooed all through Haaretz's discourse. The nation either starts second as events out of the colonial context or are just reduced into binary manifestations “In the context of Foucault’s archaeology, the concept of discourse has some of the same force as structuralism in displacing the subject or reducing her to a mere bearer of systemic processes external to her (Dorothy Smith, 1990, 161-162 as cited in Mills S., 1997).

Haaretz tends to decentre the Palestinian females by establishing equal interrogatory anomalous discursive constituents: the gays. Through contradiction, the newspaper promotes “the irrationality of the news by manipulating the dramatized object and turning it into a spectacle” causing a figure-ground alteration (Babin, 1995, 49). In his news article “Education Minister Naftali Bennett speaking in the Knesset” Zvi Bar'el reports on the Israeli court which “had dared to freeze the appointment of the latest chief military rabbi, Eyal Krim while demanding a written affidavit explaining his views on women and gay people” (Bar’el, 2016). This loud voice of the journalist, the newspapers, who express anger at cancelling the appointment of a racist military rabbi who uttered derogatory and inciting speech against the Other, the goyim, tends to simplify the event by considering it an individual explanation ” (ibid, 2016). “Referring to other texts in terms of literary allusion, and in terms of their formal structures (narrative voice, plot, character, and so on), and yet these are the texts where the creativity of a single author is held to be paramount (Mills, 1997, 73).

Let's consider this excerpt: "Reading the Jewish law, he made a fatwa that the Israeli soldiers are allowed to sleep with non-Jewish women against their will". The journalist discursively established positive value-laden argumentation to defend the rabbi: "great scholar", "noble", "worthy man in every respect" etc. allowing all high-ranking Israeli government personnel who support him access to discourse; established an ambiguity by using the word women which is not defined and the use of non-Jewish women which can include a wide spectrum of nationalities, and most dangerously, constructing a women-gay contradiction which changes the shape of the Other. Racial calls for treating the gay as "sick and maimed" were conjured by different racial utterances giving permissions to rape non-Jewish women which is euphemistically introduced here through semantic transformations and vocabulary substitution with the word "sleeping with women against their will" (ibid, 2016). This congruence, a repetitive discursive structure in this article, is double-edged: it reduces the serious racial event into a normal and generalized issue, it dwarfs it into a simplification which triggers few recipients to take a position from an interrogatory issue like the gays under the equality of the discursive constituents. By default, the other ambiguous topic interwoven, raping the goyim women, which is presented as no-one's issue.

It shifts from being an ethical or legal issue under colonial practices: "But the problem isn't whether Krim is appointed. Or to be more precise, it's an enormous problem, one that pierces the military's moral fabric" and a conflict between the Israeli right and left "his appointment would be a capitulation to the left at a moment when the right's victories have been coming thick and fast" (ibid, 2016). On the other hand, it works as an objectification tool of the colonized subjects who are by default, excluded and decentralized. They are further discussed second. The psychology of the recipient is paralyzed. Foucault shows that within certain periods there is a tendency "to structure thinking about a subject in a particular way and to

map out certain procedures and supports for thinking” creating epistemic breaks. Every event is interpreted according to a “system of thought which linked the mundane world with the supernatural or religious order. would then be classified in terms of its significance in this wider symbolic system” (Mills S., 1997, 56-9). Let’s consider this example:

“Regarding gay people, he merely reflected the prevailing view in the education minister’s circles – and those circles are large. As for women, well, this is just an interpretation of Jewish law, not an order. After all, the chief military rabbi isn’t authorized to issue orders to rape good-looking non-Jewish women. So once again, the court failed to understand its place”.

This double creation of two discourses: the exclusion discourse of the Other; none but the Palestinian women in the Israeli Palestinian context of occupation; and the discourse of conjuring non-similar odd contexts to mitigate the sharp condemnation of the calls to rape non-Jewish women and the real face of colonial racism uncover discourses which adopts an Occidental beautifying and justificatory approach is discursively fostering the colonial identity.

Haaretz builds a discursive argumentation on the personality of the military rabbi not the racial implications of his speech. By this positive simplification of the “us”, it attempts to pan discussion on the issue; it further launches accusations of failure against the court “to understand its place” The left introduces an epistemic shift tackling the issue. Failure puts the news article into a different arrangement: the army an amplified “moral fabric”. The rabbi appointment becomes not the problem but the threat to the moral image and army values crafting process. This rabbi is reduced into “someone” and a “pawn” in the war between the leftists and the right-wing, one without institutional cover or just a cog in something that relates not to the occupation and colonial system or value crisis. Objectification and

justification continue “Women’s dignity, gay rights, and Palestinians’ property rights are all left-wing issues that must be fought to the death” (ibid, 2016). Gatekeepers are worried by this leftist approach in the occupation country not the sexual lusts of its soldiers nor gay people. Going to the extreme in whitening the colonial system and preserving its face, the rabbi and the right-wing are discursively excluded and considered agents of the foreign state of settlers “dictating the identity of “Israel” and conquering it.

This is a language well-understood by the West and America but in fact, this rabbi is “another in a long list of rabbis who have made similar statements, or even worse ones” which never worry the gatekeepers; their concern is steered towards the left and right wars and capitulation of points. Argumentations about Palestinian women are not a source of worry for both parties despite the apparent ideological approaches. The discursive limitations of the Palestinian females' access to discourse are working in both discourses: the Israeli right and left.

This Efrati’s piece sticks to these reduction techniques “This doesn’t apply only to Palestinian Arabs. In 2013 the human rights group Physicians for Human Rights had to deal with requests by Jewish women to separate them from non-Jewish ones” (Efrati, 2016) . The racism in maternity awards is reduced to an individual problem not an institutional system of colonial discrimination and racism. The constituents in Yaron’s article are structured using the same technique “The signposted by a social activism group near Kfar Sava's Meir Hospital, addressing its director: “mothers’ request rather than at hospitals own initiative” 'Dr. Eitan Wertheim, stop the segregation in maternity” (Yaron, 2016a). This individual responsibility of an individual or a staff would validate the individuality of the event especially as Arab and Jewish activists and physicians could not be ignored. It also protects the Israeli Occidentalism; a major argumentative backbone for the colonial project not only for depicting a modern image of the colonial subject that establishes for We/Them dichotomy

and the inferiority of the Other but also to find excuses when no other techniques work. See this Rabbi Yehoshua Looks's extract

“In a recent Jewish Week article, Jonathan Mark looks back at the history of Jewish hospitals in America. Jews Hospital in New York was established in 1852 to provide a safe haven for Jewish patients who were targeted in other hospitals by Christian missionaries for deathbed conversions. Additionally, Jewish doctors and nurses were often denied employment elsewhere because of anti-Semitism” (Looks, 2016)

The American end goal model is used to justify and normalize the colonial systematic discrimination as either a common worldwide practice or an action-driven by Jewish hatred: anti-Semitism. This particular pawn would silence any criticism or questioning of the Israeli colonial system. This “ideological work of transmitting the voices of power in a disguised and covert form.... a linguistic shift which is itself part of the rearticulating of the relationship between the public domain of the political ... events and social agents, and the private domain, the domain of the ‘lifeworld’, of common experience (Fairclough, 1992, 110). The “tendency in newspapers to act as mediators between official bodies and the people at large, in effect translating these documents into a form which they feel more closely approximates the language usage of their intended readers” (Mills, 1997, 156).

This is highly important as it works as a mechanism for: firstly: it transforms the news texts to the image repertoire which is filled with those ethnocentric and racist discursive constituents and discourses. “ideology as a structure does not allow for relatively different effects to be experienced by different groups” (ibid, 1997, 8). Rather, “in the process of interpretation, we lend these structures a solidity and a normality which it is often difficult to think outside of” this discursive field and under discursive pressures which constitute the real and exclude - by limiting the field, a “wide range of phenomenon from being considered real

(Mills, 1997, 54, 51). Secondly, it contributes to figure-ground alteration. It generates what Stuart Hall calls 'a circuit of culture', or how artificially constructed imagery is viewed as 'truth' over time by media consumers (1997b, 24–27). This sets the perceiver to summon previous images that are accumulated to explain current news reporting and Palestinian female Others' discourses of resistance which are denied access to the Israeli media as a struggle and narrated by the voice of the colonial subject. Alteration gives new identities to the colonized females that are kept circulating through the discursive syntactic and semantic structures and through intertextuality which is further supported by Dramatization: a discursive structure of amplification, simplification, contradiction, etc.

Despite this, the decentered subjects are objectified for their value in fostering the colonial system and the double role they play with colonialism to decenter the Other. The Israeli media splits the Palestinian female subjects into a feminist subjugated subject that realizes its self through compliance to the colonial system. This model is often amplified and the Other rebellious orientalist female is judged according to a western-centric norm. Still, those subjects are an effect of discursive colonial structures. This Foucauldian perspective of destabilizing the subject "does not privilege one form of homogeneous self for a group". it assumes that the subject positions which can be adopted by a particular group are adopted uniformly even by members of that specific group" (Mills, 1997). Naturally, this opens a space for negotiation with the colonial power by considering women as actors and part of the power paradigm, a thing that is aimed to be silenced by the colonial power assertion that they could constitute themselves as objects outside any discursive condition of emergence. (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, 108). Colonialism constitutes itself as a white subject "representational practices, so that rather than the moments of tension or disjuncture within colonial discourse being located" (Mills, 1997, 120).

Palestinian females are disqualified through this authorized knowledge. Discursive structures are related to hegemony “is shaped by relations of power and ideologies”; and affects the construction of “social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants” (Fairclough, 1992, 12).

The Other is constructed by simulacra and exclusion. The factorization of discourses under colonial regimes provides evidence to the in-effect machinery of exclusion; a hegemonic subjugation and silencing tool. Palestinian women are denied access to discourse; they are spoken for and re-presented. In different cases, they are equalized to negative social actors like gays. Simultaneously, simulacra; a machinery for negative images, stereotypes, and nomenclature. Visual bodies, the body, in this case, exceeds the philosophical notion to involvement to spectacularism, where it becomes inverted; informed with” installation of false universals’, interested ideologies that are made to pass as neutral and naturally occurring facts”; and controlled (Downing, 2000: 13 as cited in Yang, 2016, 79). This is used to justify atrocities and discrimination. It works at reversing and poisoning the colonized subject and producing an objectified non-human that serves as a bridge for identity effacement and negotiating reality in his absence. The grammatical “police rules’ of exclusions and access to discourse would define as shown above: 1) the limits and forms of expressibility; 2) the limits of forms of conservation; 3) the limits and forms of memory; and 4) the limits and forms of reactivation’ (Foucault, 1978, 14-5) or set of discursive mechanisms which limit what can be said, in what form and what is counted as worth knowing and remembering (Mills, 1997, 63)The ideological “transforms the news texts to the image” repertoire not only in terms of Orientalism and superiority through Occidentalism and the common colonial Eurocentric racist discursive structures but also as for the intertextuality

which is used to give legitimacy, objectify the Palestinian females for inferiority, anomaly and alterity and justify supremacy (Mills, 1997; Foucault, 1972, 224).

It is to say that the Other can be read both for what they say and their “silences” (Chakrabarty, 1988).

#### **4.1.1.2 Face Transplantation: Haaretz Discursive Constructions of the Palestinian Female Challenging Other**

Out of the effects of “discourse as a social practice on the context of use and thus on the act of discursive instantiation, textual analysis and wider discourse structures reveal the “displaying and constructing a compliant subject who accepts all difficulties as a sign of the need for greater subjection to the power of God” (Wetherell & Potter, 1992,90). Creating the Challenging Other or the other of the Other through mimicry has been heavily used by Haaretz; “colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite. Mimicry is thus “the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline, which ‘appropriates’ the Other as it visualizes power”. Mimicry is also the sign of the “inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres to the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an imminent threat to both ‘normalized’ knowledge and disciplinary powers” (Bhabha, 1994, 86).

Haaretz tends to construct the Challenging Other of the Palestinian females using different techniques of inclusion, mapping of discursive constituents, confessional discourse; and discursive face transplantation. This plays a dual function: whitening the colonial identity on the one hand and “subject construction” of the Other of the Other or “what Spivak calls the

“alternative voices” in the colonial texts or the “subaltern’ subject” which subdivides into the non-elite colonized subject, and the elite subject (Spivak & Chakravorty, 1988; Spivak, 1991). The hegemonic power which dominates discursively is produced and represented accordingly. If “you alter one of the variables in the nexus of power relations, you will change the type and form of the speech which is produced (Mills, 1997, 99). Besides allocating a considerable number of articles (16) to construct the festive elite-subaltern, it worked almost all through the rest of the sample to this end. Noticeably, this technique was not used in Haaretz articles dealing with racism especially in Israeli hospitals maternity wards; the distribution of the discursive load to different voices that discuss individualities and ideological differences was most noticeable.

This reveals well in Amira Hass news article “Palestinian Lawmaker “Palestinian Lawmaker Khalida Jarrar Released From Israeli Jail After 14 Months”; let’s consider this excerpt:

"The prisoners **have lost their faith in the political system**," she told a press conference at her home following her release. "They **hate it when politicians appear and make promises** for their release in the full knowledge that those **promises have no cover**." (Hass, 2016b)

In this article, the Palestinian PLC female member and x-prisoner Khaleda Jarrar, the technician's voice, is allowed access to discourse under discursive limits. The Israeli Occupation; the legality of the captivity of Palestinian females and the denial of human rights of prisoners are disregarded. Jarrar uses the education of female prisoners – the need to “running a school inside the prison” as a background that suggests a contrast between two situations and gives a different argumentative value to this event (ibid, 2016b). She amplifies maintaining normal life under abnormal rather colonial captivation of lives as a top concern; and speaks for the rest of prisoners: “what most irks prisoners is the social-political separation

in Palestinian society”. These epistemic shifts suggest a new counter-reality of the political priorities and suggest normalization of the presence of the Israeli occupation; it further lays a change of the shape in the cause of the Palestinian female prisoners allowing for new realities to negotiate the real. She is quoted shifting priorities “I know that the occupation earmarks prison for Palestinian society in its entirety, but it should be discussed whether education, for example, is an **appropriate and correct means of struggle**”(ibid, 2016b). Moreover, no value judgments condemning the occupation are presented when reporting Palestinian female prisoner’s life in the Israeli prisons: “Due to **overcrowding** in Hasharon Prison, an extra wing was opened in Damon Prison, where 20 women are now imprisoned”(ibid, 2016b).

These groups of statements suggest an epistemological shift of experience of unfreedom and imprisonment of the Palestinian prisoners who “experience a permanent condition of ‘being in pain’ (Hass, 2000). Although the Palestinian female war captives among other freedom fighters such as the Palestinian underaged prisoners, the ill in prisons and the captivated in the cemeteries of numbers are denied access to discourse; rather silenced; has been discursively reduced into a problem of trust in the Palestinian political system or aspirations to life demands under Israeli Prison Authority.

This epistemic shift is supported by linguistic choices such as metaphors: “hollow promises”; time placement by the use of passive voice: “Ten of the prisoners **were injured** during their arrest” and semantic transformations where verbs that reflect normality “taken” when reporting any colonial practice were used: “she had already been **taken to** the Prisons Service vehicle” (ibid, 2016b).

Hass mediates; she relates delays in prisoners' release to traffic jams. In human transfer conditions in the Bosta (prison vehicle) are not allowed access to discourse and are subject to semantic transformations. Let's consider this piece: "Normally a 10-minute journey, it went on for an hour, due to traffic" (ibid, 2016b). "Prisoner transfer" is replaced by "journey". Elements relating to "which relate to his diagnosis" are only addressed; "the sense of the doctor shifting and constraining topic following a pre-set agenda, which the patient is not being allowed to disturb" (Mills, 1997, 151). "Propositional truth and social relations, knowledge, and power, seem to be intricately linked in such cases" (Fairclough, 1992, 142). Do words like "manacled" describing Jarrar's returning handcuffed to the prison vehicle imply anything other than criminality and animal-like situation? Discourses set the rules of inclusions and exclusions and statements which are considered knowledge and truth. Statements are less important than the way they coalesce into discursive groupings (Mills, 1997). The Journalist Hass and Haaretz produce a new type of knowledge. This knowledge which is limited to a colonial discourse of who has access to discourse and what can be said not only produces new discourses and identities: the new Palestinian (an elite subaltern), but also creates new tools of negotiating reality. It suggests shifting liberation priorities and final state solution major issues to maintaining ways of managing life under occupation.

These techniques read the same in Hass's news article "With No State in Sight, Palestinians Adapt to Limited Self-rule", one of the first categorizations' articles i.e. The indigenous culture alterities, inferiority, and feminist/gender paradigm, where the Journalist uses the hegemony technique of reduction through word replacement: the war is mimicked into mere "fighting" thorough semantic replacement in this excerpt: "Amid the fears about **new fighting** between the Israelis and the Palestinians in Gaza, **the army's** arrests in the West Bank, the reports on the Amona outpost and new **expropriations of land**, the Palestinians are busy with a few internal matters, or at least semi-internal ones"; "Gaza is busy with the

first death penalty imposed on a woman” (Hass, 2016c). Over in the West Bank, the people increasingly believe the PA is a permanent institution despite all the predictions otherwise”. Both the newspaper/journalist and the elite subaltern are turned discursive machines to produce orientalism either through event pattern of oriental stereotypes where indigenous culture alterity is effaced: the “blood feud”, “a woman covered up to her eyes by a niqab”, “when she was a university student, her family married her off .... against her will” (ibid, 2016c) or the confessional discourse.

The journalist, chooses this emotional and extraordinary event under heavy loaded value-laden words and oriental stereotypes about the female’s husband” simple”, “unfortunate”, his second wife gave birth to a boy”, she had no children”, to create a background for discussing the political (ibid, 2016c).. Unlike all other articles reporting Palestinian females under occupation. State responsibility was projected here because it relates to the Palestinian self-governance regime. In this article, the Palestinian female reporting has been used as a bridge to disciplinary procedures against the whole Palestinian governing system; a topic that had been elaborated through the article. It evolved into subjugation to create a subaltern political system using simulacra and drawing choices.

The whole political system, the PA and Hamas, was depicted inferior; this creates a background that establishes for a contrast between two systems: the modern and backward: “Abbas has not signed death sentences; it’s likely that criticism from Palestinian and international human rights groups has had an effect. Since 1994, 72 death sentences have been handed down in PA courts”; the report highlights Hamas official justification for supporting the signature of death penalties (ibid, 2016c). The Palestinian governing system in the West Bank is portrayed as repressive, violating and even threatening environment for Palestinian females “Female demonstrators [against Abbas complained that their attackers

[defined in the article as members of the security services] also harassed them sexually” (ibid, 2016c). The voices allowed access to this article are the Palestinian regime attackers; elite subalterns such as human rights groups, attorneys, The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Amad (which is Fatah-leaning and opposes Abbas) (ibid, 2016c).

The woman who killed her husband, the grounding start of the article, is objectified. She serves as a bridge to both assert the Otherness of an oriental and violent society; and to amplify a contrast between the top and bottom: the inferiority of the Palestinian societal and political regime in comparison to the supreme Israeli and Euro-centric model which cancelled the death penalty. By this, Palestinian females are dehumanized; the official regime is delegitimized. A more far aimed goal is addressed: creating an elite subaltern regime through dramatization. The informative medium in this article emotionally amplifies the dramatized objects: the Palestinian females and the PA and reproduces the tragedy through factorized knowledge that serves as facts: “the harsh internal criticism of the PA, of its political and national failures”, the “very expectation that it will fulfill its role and serve society is another way of sustaining it”, “not turning to a state which “seems very distant” is the criteria for its being; rather, the “fixed existing institution is becoming rooted” (ibid, 2016c). The reporting on a Palestinian female anomalous case becomes a way to create an argumentation that fosters the subjugation of the whole regime, negotiating the real and reasserting the function of the Palestinian project as a local administration of peoples.

Hass’s Article “What Drives Palestinian Women Shot at Israeli Checkpoints to Their Deaths?” negatively portrays Palestinian females through the oriental frames. Hass creates the challenging Other by allowing access to alternative voices: “When asked why, feminist activists gave Haaretz a number of answers. Especially at the beginning of the current privatized uprising, women were angry that people concluded that a young woman who

joined the tide and tried to attack a soldier was suspected of being motivated by reasons not “nationalist.” They saw this as yet another sign of the belittling of women”. She allows an alternative voice that have a different narration to the conflict where reality is semantically transformed by the use of words such as “privatized” which unskins the national characteristic of the struggle (Hass, 2016a). She repeatedly uses passive voice when reporting Israeli military abuses and gives recursive structures of justifications that the Israeli soldiers are portrayed as having no choice. “The IDF spokesman only said .... the force responded with shots to prevent the threat, from which the terrorist was killed.” She often portrays the Israeli occupation army as a “human” army that helps the colonized to commit suicide”. The present tense is used to freeze this reality. Let’s consider this excerpt:

“In a traditional and religious society that doesn’t view suicide positively, it’s possible that death at the hands of a soldier seems like a good way out. ... The discussion of the danger of this growing phenomenon exists – mostly among feminist activists and at various civil society groups – but not openly” (ibid, 2016a)

The confessional discourse is one of the discursive constituents that help creating a challenging Other or the process of producing compliant subjects. Traditionally, the colonial powers used to subdue the colonize by using physical disciplinary regimes. Now, discursive structures are “displaying and constructing a compliant subject who accepts all difficulties as a sign of the need for greater subjection to the power of God” (Mills, 1997, 84). “Not only those who are judged to be criminals who are subdued by these disciplinary structures, but also the population as a whole” as “discipline is internalised by individuals and begins to be seen as self-discipline” (Mills, 1997, 81)

This challenging Other was the work out of Shtarkman’s news article on the withered branched. This model, highlighting the indigenous culture as a barrier and inferior. The voice

of technician the sociologist Palestinian female PhD holder – an author for Foucault, is allowed access as part of the confessional discourse under a guided interview within an orientalist, Occidental and stereotypical framings and discursive limits. The importance of these framing equals the importance of the talking confessional, who reframes the problem of Palestinian females under occupation as social. This discursive structure “increasingly better education is one of the reasons for the larger proportion of single women”; “there has been an increase in the divorce rates in the Arab population” is repeated in different expression (Shtarkman, 2016). Information about Palestinian female life is given as facts. This alternative voice, the commentator, creates major epistemic shifts: political struggle is domesticated as social, slavery which is usually untextualized with colonialism is redefined in an oriental frame, tension which is related to political contexts is a “confrontation with tradition-inclined people” and independence, a national overwhelming political issue in colonial contexts becomes “social”. Difficulties with the Israeli occupation are reduced into “language”, “minority”, “mixed marriage” and how to muster “the courage to merge with hegemonic system and “be connected with majority” and “accepting the other, the Israeli in this particular context (ibid, 2016). This suggests a great epistemic shift in the vocabulary of natural relation between the colonized and the colonized and the Israeli Palestinian political conflict. The produced knowledge through the elite subaltern voice contributes to negotiating reality on new bases and denying the political origins of the conflict.

The journalist makes recurrent companions with the Jewish society; an end goal model “the Jewish society, which is an important agent socialization” (ibid, 2016). She but jumps over its inferiority and ultraorthodox tradition especially against women; giving birth to many children or sexual supervision of Jewish women is not salience in her companion. The limits of the discourse are functioning to whiten the occupation.

“The birth rate has fallen in Arab society, but it’s still about three children per family, which is high. In addition, society views marriage as an arrangement involving social supervision of women’s sexual behavior. If she’s married, the whole sexuality issue is settled. Also, there’s an average difference of about five years in the marital ages of men and women” (ibid, 2016).

Not only more focus on the Arab middle class changed behaviour, but upgrading the status of the Palestinian females to an elite subaltern becomes a request of this voice. Top dreams are paraphrased as being a subjugated citizen under the regime who competes (another epistemic shift), both ethnic and gender basis” under tough roles that interconnects to the Palestinian society only (ibid, 2016). This voice is discursively structuring a challenging other and is by definition a challenging Other herself; “the subject internalised the problem; the subject is turned into a ‘case’ in the process of inserting herself into the psychoanalytic confessional discourse (Mills, 1997, 82).

This reflects well in Nirit Anderman’s news article “The Palestinian Women Behind a New Wave of Great Israeli Cinema”. Two Palestinian females are given access to discourse under these discursive limitations and confessional discourse. The alternative voice of the technician, Palestinian female filmmakers are positively portrayed for “speaking cinema in their unique language” (Anderman, 2016). A language that reproduces new realities that “expose the heavy double burden of life under occupation and in a patriarchal society. And they do so with a fresh point of view”. In their films, they contribute to supporting the occidental approach of the colonial power in contrast with the detached and supervising Arab society “young Palestinian women who live in Tel Aviv under the watchful eye of Arab society and in the heart of liberal Israeli society, which will always define them as second-class citizens” (ibid, 2016).

An “us’ vs” them” dichotomy and social distancing are still overflowing despite this subjugating discourse. They suggest vocabulary substitutions. Fighting, related often to political struggles and wars become a social issue “women who are fighting to shape their own destiny by means of confrontation, friendship and courage, victory and breaking free, and the prices they have to pay” (ibid, 2016). The uprooted and displace Palestinians are becoming no one’s sin by the use of the passive voice and liberation through this semantic substitution becomes “feminist” perspective. The political is also redefined using this technique; it revolves around bringing the elite subaltern to the centre (the untold is that decentring the resistant non-elite Palestinian females), one of the film makers say. Reality as well, an ultimate purpose of the colonial project discursive scalpel, becomes a notion of something to “describe and liberate” as if the Palestinian colonized narration is suffocating the reality; the alternative reality indeed (ibid, 2016).

Under this semantic transformation as the following excerpt reveals, discursively, different alternatives and solutions that start second and jump over the colonial reality are proposed and calls for fostering the idea of L’homo festive and the society of spectacle and dance are voiced out loud. New alternatives to negotiate reality are approached i.e. a “Liberating cinema”. (ibid, 2016).

This attitude is supported by liberal, western eligible language “Politics erupts into the frame and pushes aside the humour and life itself in only a few instances... I would like my people to always choose life, instead of blowing itself up in anger,” Haj tells Haaretz (ibid, 2016).

“This life is very precious, and there’s an alternative, there’s the life that one can love, and dance to its rhythm and go to the beach – and these are simple things that you can miss because of all the difficulty that we, as a people, are living. And I’m

talking about the three parts of the Palestinian people: The part that lives within the 1948 borders, the part that lives on the West Bank and in Gaza, and the part that was forced to leave and to be exiled from its country” (ibid, 2016).

The Israeli Haaretz discourse operates to the ideological and value judgements of the society which are “embedded within the linguistic choices of the knowledge which is taken as self-evident within a culture, become the views and feelings of the individual, which that individual imagines are his/her own” (Volosinov,1973 as cite in mills, 1997, 159). This allows to better consider the ideology as a mirror of the colonial project and the individual roles of the inhabitants in resistance and struggle and the production of competent individuals; producing discourses in conflict. This approximates Foucault’s notion on the death of the subject “to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework” but finds its self a better translation in the feminist notion on the destabilising of the self or the feminist concept of whitening as the decentred subject remains after all a subject (Butler, 1993).

In the political bodily participation in the political struggle, the discursive structure through different tools that belittle Palestinian females create the desired model. This excerpt from Noa Shpigel and Jack Khourys’ news article best frames part of this manufacturing “, and would try to ensure that she doesn’t go to jail” (Shpigel & Khoury, 2016). This not the worst that can happen. If not accepting the limitations and playing the role of the new Palestinian, the Palestinian females who choose residence will undergo discursive disciplinary punishments. They would, as shown in the discussion of the Other construction, be stereotyped, negatively portrayed, overgeneralized as inferior and non-human. They would further be named, excluded and poisoned for private life problems like divorce or even falling

in love. Topping all, the Foucauldian exclusion tool of instability and often insanity is used to depict them.

“A psychological evaluation commissioned by the Social Affairs Ministry found she had high cognitive capabilities, was an outstanding student in high school, had completed a bachelor’s degree at the Technion, and was planning to begin studying for a master’s degree” (ibid, 2016).

However, the evaluation also said her emotional state was “exceptionally fragile, and despite having grown up in a warm, supportive family,” crises in a romantic relationship had “led her to make several suicide attempts” (ibid, 2016). The subject is internalised as a problem; the subject is turned into a ‘case’ in the process of inserting herself into the psychoanalytic confessional discourse; “women tend to be categorized as mentally-ill” and to suffer from inferior beachward and patriarchal societies (Mills, 1997, 81-2).

In Gideon Levy’s article “Israeli Police Help Palestinian Girls Commit Suicide”, one of the first categorization articles i.e. the indigenous culture alterities, inferiority and the feminist/gender paradigm, are a glare examples of selectivity to build discursive structures. Drawing on all the articles of the sample, Ley’s work uncovers the different discourses inside the same reporting” the colonial identity, the non-elite subaltern and the desired elite subaltern and the use of Palestinian females’ stories, whether political or social, to construct and include/exclude different identities. same discursive structures are used. Same colonial discursive linguistic limits are used” “was shot”, bled to death” lethal incident”, etc; most prominently are the semantic transformations and substitutions: incident for killing, dead girl for killed, lethal, which is naturally combined with force, is euphemistically used in a different context i.e. incident “a lethal incident” (Levy & Levac, 2016b). These linguistic shifts and euphemism – a kind of metaphor, serve to create ambiguity, normalize the killing

scene and present it natural. A technique that exonerates the Israeli occupation the responsibility.

Despite Levy's broader margin of freedom in regulating the visual space and knowledge on the Palestinian archetypes, the discursive limits of the Israeli discourse are functioning heavily. In his article "Yes, Israel Is Executing Palestinians Without Trial", he tells a balanced truth within a pre-set discursive mould. The only voice allowed access to discourse is the Public Security Minister Gilad Erdan who was quoted outlining "the situation", with a decisive truth-claims and valueladen words i.e. "clearly" and with the same nomenclature that is kept by Levy elsewhere in his article: "Every terrorist should know he will not survive the attack he is about to commit" – and almost every politician joined him in nauseating unison" (Levy, 2016a)... In comparison, Palestinian females and Palestinians appear as stories not voices, the journalist narrates them.

"The soldiers didn't even suspect cosmetology student Samah Abdallah, 18, of anything. Soldiers shot her father's car "by mistake," killing her" (underlining is in the original text which reads either as highlighting a justification that the car was targeted not the girl or to avoid giving a value judgment over the killing or the legitimacy of the occupation (ibid, 2016).

The idea of suspecting something or killing for no reason becomes not a human and legal frame; it is an external issue. It relates to the Occidental democratic model Israel is trying to circulate and the image of its army. "– it's enough to be a teenage Palestinian girl with scissors" this includes generalizations that extends to all Palestinian females shot (ibid, 2016). "The firing squads are active every day. Soldiers, police and civilians shoot those who stabbed Israelis, or tried to stab them or were suspected of doing so, and at those who run down Israelis in their cars or appear to have done so" (ibid, 2016). This probability factor:

who did or tried to do; who ran over or appeared to have been reduced to matter of legality of procedures and a recursive demand for investigation; a call that can be following a Western centric end model and adding to the Israeli Occidental approach. It can further be understood by the world as a democratic face. If the Palestinian females are criminalized - which is not affordable under the currently applied “shoot to kill” paradigm where the threat to soldiers’ lives, “In most cases, there was no need to shoot – and certainly not to kill. In a good many of the cases, the shooters’ lives were not in danger”, their intentions to “shoot to kill, to punish, to release their anger, and to take revenge” are for receipts interwoven and unclear (ibid, 2016). This probability can trigger a solid position to support Israel. This would weaken justifications; that would disturb Israel’s image and “democratic” values, as circulated, before the world. If Palestinian females are not criminalized under investigation; they would work as well as a bridge to whiten the face of the Israeli army and the whole colonial regime.

In the economic factor articles, the Israeli authority is also whitened responsibility over low and invaluable Palestinian female participation in labour market. Let’s consider this: “despite government plans of the past six years” “the government has advance number of programs”; responsibility is laid over the inferior societal order and fear of men (Khoury, 2016). When the Israeli state responsibility is clearly evident for racism, as in the segregation in maternity wards’ articles the news reports tend to either blame the Palestinian females’ indigenous culture and social order or even talk for them “Arab women are happier that way” (Efrati, 2016). The linguistic choices tend as well to reduce the event sequence into individual not institutional behaviour or an automatic and routine act. Israeli hospitals “direct Arab and Jewish women to separate rooms, either automatically or at the women’s request”, “Several Knesset members across the political spectrum expressed disapproval of Smotrich's tweets” implying it is not institutional (ibid, 2016; Lis, 2016). They even resort to supporting great discursive structures patterns “Habayit Hayehudi, quickly responded on Twitter by quoting

Ethics of the Fathers 3:14: "Beloved is man, for he was created in the image [of Gd]," adding "Jew or Arab"(ibid, 2016). This gives a new deflection the colonial identity. A total denial approach is maintained "Hadassah Hospital responded that they treat all patient's equally and with empathy" (ibid, 2016).

This manifests as set of heterogeneous statements (i.e., those utterances, texts, gestures, behavior which were accepted as describing the essence of Palestinian females and which in fact constituted the parameters within which the fact that they are colonized can only work and their own sense of identity. Counter to this, there is a type of discourse, which challenged this knowledge that was sanctioned by many of the institutions that acted together to produce the boundaries of the possible forms of Palestinian female existence which is limited to either statements produced as reality or incidents of women who have accepted the Israeli colonial system and emersed into it. The latter opens the door wide for the discussive structures of Haaretz and their role in factorizing the Other of Other or the Challenging other; an elite subaltern.

The Peace and L'Homo festive frames are amplified to construct Challenging Other. There are different Haaretz approaches to construct and center the Challenging Other. More to the previous discussion, the peace propagandists and festive subaltern frames are pursued. While the "colony represents the site where sovereignty consists fundamentally in the exercise of a power outside the law (*ab legibus solutus*) and where 'peace' is more likely to take on the face of a 'war without end'", Haaretz starts second. The colonial reality is totally effaced by virtue of this discourse; the political conflict which was epistemically shifted into socio-economic and psychological ; and is reduced to institutionalized Arab community problem, boosts as a coexistence and peace festive marches (Mbembe, 2008, 162).

The present tense is overdiligently used. It freezes the festive/peace moment as a project. Different semantic discursive structures are used such as the metaphors “wage peace” “The two-week “March of Hope” is scheduled .. Joining Women Wage Peace on that final day, if all goes as planned, there will be 1,000 Palestinian women from the West Bank along with the guest of honor of the event – Liberian Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Leymah Gbowee” which is a heavily repetitive statement, “march of hope”; positive judgement and value laden words such as “proud to be here”, “successful/peaceful coexistence” and positive nomenclator such as ‘non-violent”, “accepted by both sides”; “Roughly half of them are Women Wage Peace activists taking part in the entire 200-kilometer trek from Rosh Hanikra to Jerusalem” (Maltz, 2016b). classification as in these examples: “good pain”, “bad pain”, is very power discursive tool. It further suggests contradictions that abruptly moves between two contradictory scenes to create a contrast with the event what will happen; permitting an *anticipation of the future* in Merleau-Ponty *philosophy of horizons*. Semantic transformation and vocabulary substitutions; contexts are totally destroyed and redefined. The intersexuality of words such as “struggle” which refers to political confrontation undergoes a transformation; a new relation is forged as to concluding an agreement. “Israeli and Palestinian women vow to continue their struggle until an agreement is reached”, “that brings us, our children and grandchildren a safe future” as stated in Eetta Prince-Gibson’s”, “We Cannot Count on Men to Create Peace. We Have to Do It Ourselves” (Prince-Gibson, 2016). Plural pronouns are mostly used “ourselves, we, our, us which suits well the discussive limits of constructing the Challenging Other paradigm.

This epistemic shift in the use of plural pronouns mirrors a huge epistemological cut with the narration, identity, conceptual grounding past (in comparison to the desired future they aim at) and a history of colonial occupation. It presents an alternative voice not only with alternative narration that subjugates itself to the discursive limits of the colonial discourse

limitations which decides upon “who controls the turn-taking system (who speaks, for how long, on what topic, and who comments on the foregoing speech and glosses it for its overall meaning? How the colonized tries to constitute his view/ concern on his condition How the media outlet address those elements of her condition which relate to his diagnosis of the condition? (Fairclough, 1992b as cited in Mills, 1997, 150-157). This reveals well in this piece:

“According to Ziad Darwish, a member of the Palestinian Committee for Interaction with the Israeli Society, which operates under the auspices of the Fatah party, the Palestinian women received political and financial support .... water and hats with a dove logo that the women wore, many over their hijabs” (Prince-Gibson, 2016).

Not only the colonized who are selected are constituting the pre-set discourse, but also the indigenous culture and oriental Islamic terror, suppression and inferiority connected symbols. This contextual shift not only constitutes the “New Palestinian” but also ingests the Other which is usually excluded in other discourse of resistance or simply in the pre-discussed Haaretz literature dedicated to depicting the ordinary Palestinian females doing normal activities such as walking on the beach; the excluded Other. The physical and symbolic effacement and melting techniques are being discursively structured. Access to discourse is allowed under bio-powers - disciplinary colonial regimes, which set new postmodern colonial slavery approach. In the context of the Achille Mbembe’s Necropolitics or death policies, an analysis of the reality of repressive postmodernist practices under colonialism was presented. Mbembe argued that civil resistance is part of the subjugation policies and control within the framework of his postmodern conception of sovereignty. To kill or allow to die is to exercise severity over death and mortality. This what Michael Foucault meant by biopower: that domain of life over which power has taken control (Foucault, 1977; Foucault, 1978). Still,

the subaltern must be allowed to have alternative viewpoints like music and other types of resistance at the level of the body, which in the post-colonial era has also become contested (Mbembe, 2016).

“The atmosphere was celebratory — almost heady — despite the searing heat as a women’s drumming group set the rhythm. When the Palestinian women came off the buses, many were embraced by Israeli women; others formed impromptu dance circles” (Prince-Gibson, 2016).

The indigenous females are grouped in as a human festive. A trend that reflects itself a long other news stories in this sample. Examining Judy Maltz “WATCH: In Israeli Choir, Arab and Jewish Women Put Aside Politics to Sing With One Voice”, it is found that besides the negative judgment words like stabbing “rampage” which dehumanizes the Palestinian and makes generalizations, dancing was the counter life event at stake. It stooped one night. The elite Palestinian female subalterns and Jewish partner commonly described as we, us “our anthem” were positively judged for having “strong connections”. To create the challenging other, a sematic transformation that destroys all contexts is structures such as the “artistic freedom” and a new hybrid language of both the colonized and the colonial languages. It is created through figure description: “One woman enters the rehearsal studio wearing a cross around her neck, another a Star of David. The oldest member of the group has a hijab wrapped around her head. Most, however, avoid any signs of their religious affiliation” (Maltz, 2016a). Trade-off in this discursive paradigm is between different disciplinary practices: peace demonstrations, dancing or singing. “I felt that I suddenly had an opportunity to do something more meaningful than going to peace demonstrations and whining all the time” (ibid, 2016a).

The colonial subject language, songs, songwriter are salience; they are promoted in equality to the indigenous language and international other languages. Most dangerously, the colonial

subject presents itself a hub and a melting hub for other cultures and languages. Arabic is embedded as a translation or is melted into new hybrid language “Shirana”. This effaces the indigenous language and creates new face like that of the colonial entity. This is after all a manifestation of power; Hebrew as a language and culture defines, accepts and represent the Other’s. mixed marriage is encouraged. “In fact, in most instances the selection of races, the prohibition of mixed marriages, forced sterilization, even the extermination of vanquished peoples is to find their first testing ground in the colonial world (ibid, 2016a). Here we see the first syntheses between massacre and bureaucracy, that incarnation of Western rationality” (Mbembe, 2008, 161) This pre-set agenda interview frames the discussion. Question: How long will the cycle of violence last?

The Palestinians females are undergoing face transplantation. Isn’t media, colonialism, hegemonic and ideological state apparatuses’ visual representation, activities that give faces! the public face of race is now cloaked in chameleon-like form, an ever-changing camouflage that obscures its force” (Entman & Rojecki, 2013, 1).

Under spectacle, the seen; the Other, becomes an object (Mirzoeff, 2002, 248). In Orientalism, Edward Said uses the term textual attitudes or metaphors of sight and vision of stock of Western narratives instead of the term “the gaze”; this refers to "the journey, the history, the fable, the stereotype, the polemical confrontation"—as "the lenses through which the Orient is experienced"(Said, 1995, 58). Framing in this sense "establish who is 'us' and who is 'them' in a way that reduces, eternalizes, naturalizes and fixes difference" (Hall, 1997 as cited in Peper, 2018, 12).

Foucault develops the gaze as an apparatus of power (Foucault, 1977). This finds its translation in Edward Said’s concept of post-colonial gaze where colonial powers extend

their power to the colonize (Said, 1985). This gaze has established both the colonized identity and the locations and relationship of the subject and the object, and socially constructed barriers that often prohibit them from expressing their true political rights including other cultural, social, economic (Beardsell, 2000).

“The face is meaning, and a meaning without context. The context of the archetype is killed; it is decentred and effaced under a hybrid system of representation. I want to say that the Other, within the rectitude of the face, is not an individual in a context. However, the face gives priority to the self. You are you. In this sense, you could say that the face is not “seen”. It can only be embraced by your thought processes: The face is what you cannot kill, or at least in the sense that says: “thou shalt not kill”. Murder is, of course, a banal fact: one can kill another person; the ethical requirement is not an ontological necessity. Being forbidden to kill does not mean murder is impossible, even if the authority behind the sanction remains in the guilty conscience of the evil that has been done – the malignancy of evil.” (Levinas, 1985, 95, 98, 119). As it can not be killed, it can be replaced.

Levinas remarks into what he calls the Face of the Other or the plastic form under which the violent life-like representations lie (Drichel, 2012, 7). Maha Mansour in her article “An Israeli Arab Woman at the Playground” van shed light on the face transplantation and related discourse:

“If our children want to grow up and play together, who are we to deprive them of this possibility? What will happen if I educate my children to dress up on Purim, and the woman on the bench takes her children to Arab towns to eat kanafeh on Ramadan evenings and to join in the celebrations of Arab friends? Would it hurt my Arab identity or her Jewish identity?” (Mansour, 2016)

These discourses are given as a truth-value, logos for inciting listening and looking; a dramatic tension. More dangerously, it is designed for decolonizing the Other and human consumption or consuming humans. This translates through Eetta Prince-Gibson's piece: "Today I have Israeli Jewish sisters," said Maryam, a 35-year-old teacher from "near Jenin" ... I do not want anyone to be killed — not by soldiers, not by terrorists" (Prince-Gibson, 2016). The turn taking is still working; noticeably, within the same discursive Othering and exclusion structures which keep the social distancing between "us" and "them"; between the desired Palestinian and the excluded; between the soldier which refers to a person in duty who bears no responsibility of the killing and the terrorist other who is illegal and criminalized. A recurrent sematic nomenclature in other articles of the sample such a Robi Damelin's "Razi Barkai compared the grief of Palestinian mothers - families of Palestinian terrorists killed while carrying out attacks - to the grief of Israeli mothers - families of Israeli troops killed in action" (Damelin, 2016). She even differentiates between "good" and "bad" pain as former Likud MK Moshe Feiglin summarizes racism and discrimination.

Within this peace discourse, the Othering of the Palestinian females is still kept in circulation. The "us" and "them" dichotomy is in process keeping that hegemonic distance between the colonial Israeli subject and the objectified Palestinian Other who has bad pain. This amplification relates to choosing the background that will give value to the event. It is about the creation of a contrast between the good and bad, the power of classification that either simplifies the Other pain or creates contradictions that change its shape. This makes it easy to discuss this taboo within Western societies, a major concern for the colonial systems "this is because, in the end, suicide [death] serves to brutally interrupt all dynamic of subjection and any possibility of recognition" of the colonial power; the Other represents a self that long been re-present by the sovereign power (Mills, 1997, 64; Mbembe, 2016, 27).

Eetta Prince-Gibson is even using the same discussive structures: emotionally amplifies facts based on conjecture “and I know that most people in Palestine think like me”(Prince-Gibson, 2016). These discussive structures are built in this new discursive paradigm; nonetheless, the oriental discourse of a traditional repressive society still survives at the shoulders of the voices of the technician. In Eetta Prince-Gibson article, Leymah Gbowee, the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize laureate and leader of the women’s activism that brought an end to Liberia’s bloody civil war is allowed access to this discourse. She confirms the societal, not the political, dilemma of women “Men try to demean women’s activism” (ibid, 2016). In the same venture, Hind Khoury, an economist who has served as the Minister of Jerusalem Affairs in the Palestinian Authority and was the delegate general of the Palestinian Liberation Organization to France from 2006 until 2010 is allowed access. She is nomenclated positively as “challenging” of the crowds not the *Israeli Occupation*. Being so acute to the discursive limits of the alternative voice discourse she confirms “This is women’s power at its best,” she said. “But will you last? Will you do the hard work? The hard part begins tomorrow — will you keep up the hope in our region that is plagued with violence and despair?” (ibid, 2016).

Noticeably, the same passive voice linguistic discursive tools are used. This makes such violence, colonial in fact, no one’s sin. Which makes starting second, later expressed by the Hadassah Froman, widow of Rabbi Menachem Froman, and her daughter-in-law Michal, who was pregnant when she was wounded in a stabbing attack at the tongue of a Palestinian “Life will be better here if we stop seeing ourselves as the victims of terror or the victims of the occupation. We all have to get over this and begin to work hard” (ibid, 2016). Access to discourse has been allowed to a pregnant Jew stabbed; an event that was selected and positively amplified. This can be traced intra-texts. Aharoni’s father in Judy Maltz’s article who was killed in a war with the Arabs to plays the role of the only victim who makes a

confessional discourse; a discourse well-understood by the West. The trauma of the Israelis is (emotionally) amplified in the background of the peace and festive discourse while Palestinian females' trauma is ignored; rather silenced. On the contrary, no Palestinian female who was wounded or suffered the loss of her beloved was allowed access to tell a position all through the sample. The topic is shifted and constrained in accordance with a pre-set agenda, which the patient is not being allowed to disturb' (Mishler as cited in Fairclough, 1992, 141). Does Haaretz disregard the information which relates to the problem? the failed attempts of the patient to assert her speaking rights?

If reported, Palestinian females would have someone talking on their behalf or narrating their stories. If recognized, Palestinian mothers' pain is left moving between two contradictory scenes to create a contrast with the event what will happen; permitting anticipation of the future in Merleau-Ponty's philosophy of horizons (Babin, 1995). It is postulated equal to the Israeli mothers despite the huge differences most important of all is the colonial relation which by definition is anormal relation between an occupier and occupied.

All the produced knowledge is given as facts. However, this colonial discourse is not a medium for questions and answers but for roaming an epistemologically produced knowledge; an epistemic cut that represents the rational and irrational. This festive and peace discourse is circulated and listened to; not to be validated or denied but to be consumed especially for the West who understands such a language. It is often dramatized and redramatized infinitely.

“These spectacles are impenetrable frontiers between different fleshs can therefore be understood as an a posteriori demonstration of the limits of the colonial project of separation. This is because, short of total extermination, the Other can never be external to us: it is within

us, under the double figure of the alter ego and the altered ego [l'autre Moi et du Moi autre], each mortally exposed to frontiers between different fleshs can therefore be understood as an a posteriori demonstration of the limits of the colonial project of separation (Mbembe, 2016, 25).

To illustrate, these excerpts shed more light to this “constitutive nature of discourse – discourse constitutes the social, including “objects” and social subjects; and the primacy of interdiscursivity and intertextuality – any discursive practice is defined by its relations with others, and draws upon others in complex ways’ (Fairclough, 1992, 55).

The challenging othering relates to subject construction or what Spivak calls the alternative voices in the colonial texts: the ‘subaltern’ subject, the non-elite colonized subject and the elite subject might (Spivak, 1991; Spivak, 1994) the barbarian savage cultures versus those who confess and accept the colonial role and even help building the colonial entities producing different colonial discourses unlike Said’s argument on the homogenesis of the colonial discourse. These representations can uncover the notion of the Other who is effaced by colonialist texts. They have a face value that entails “collusion with the logic of colonialism” (Mills, 1997, 121). This rewrites the Foucauldian basic notions of access to discourses and exclusion. The colonial subject, powerful, decentralizes the periphery; discourses of resistance can be understood in this context. All have roles as actors in this regard which is often disregarded by the colonial powers.

The colonial mimicry or the challenging Other discursively constitutes a figure ground image of the Gestalt of the Israeli Palestinian conflict; one that displaces the Other and pushes it to the background causing a malicious alteration that constitutes new realities and fills in the repertoire with festive alternatives that trespass reality and preserve colonial view of the conflict and possible solutions. It is all in all a colonial imperative project, the whole colonial

context undergoes an epistemic shift and context replacement. Not only reality is negotiated and denied, but also the colonized identity and legitimacy. This “set of rules which at a given period and for a definite society defined: 1) the limits and forms of expressibility; 2) the limits of forms of conservation; 3) the limits and forms of memory; and 4) the limits and forms of reactivation’ (M Foucault, 1978, 14–15) or set of discursive mechanisms which limit what can be said, in what form and what is counted as worth knowing and remembering (Mills, 1997, 63).

These all contribute to the construction of the archive- (the limitation or exclusion process) “working alongside the notion of the episteme”, in this sense, the archives interpolate with ideology and forms the undergrounding structure of ideology which becomes by itself an episteme and a mirror of episteme industry.

Remarkably, this would in turn help developing a model of power relations taking race, silence and “the way that women as individuals and as members of groups negotiate relations of power” into consideration under the colonial discourse theory upon which the Foucauldian discourse theory formulation of discourse draws on (Foucault, 1979, 106). This discussion includes a theory building of the feminism in a colonial context i.e., under a political lens where it works differently.

By virtue of this, the archive is a set of “discursive mechanisms or logical constructions; the limits are a kind of selectivity which by default a construction and bias”. The archive subdivides into two discursive structures: the exclusions within discourse and the circulation of discourses (Mills, 1997). There are different exclusions which map out what can count as a statement: exclusions within discourse. Stuart Hall calls this “inferential racism,” which he describes as “those naturalized representations of events and situations relating to race,

whether ‘factual’ or ‘fictional,’ which have racist premises and propositions inscribed in them as a set of unquestioned assumptions. These enable racist statements to be formulated without ever bringing into awareness the racist predicates on which these statements are grounded” (Hall, 1990, 12-13). No research can be done to what is not said because it is “said indefinitely, remain said, and are to be said again” (Mills, 1997, 67; Foucault, 1981: 56-7). By those truth-claims, Haaretz would speak “the lingo. That was all that counted. Evaluating the argument was of no interest’ (Jones, 1996, 16).

#### **4.1.1.3 Virtual Bodily Pressure: Haaretz Discursive Construction of the Palestinian Female Non-Compliant Elite Other**

Haaretz practices a discursive pressure on the bodies of the Palestinian females to decenter them. This extends to the politically engaged females classified as “terrorists” and “attackers” by virtue of nomenclature, stereotyping, generalizations, simulacra, etc. (see Gideon Levy articles). It saliences certain aspects of reality and sustains “the use of the inferiority, suppression and “death culture” paradigm by each feminist that positions Palestinian female suicide bombers as victimized and culturally oppressed, rather than as legitimate political participants (Amireh, 2010).

If compared to those females constructed and objectified as representing discursive subjugation; as voicing out commitment to the discursive limits of the colonial discourse and system, Haaretz articles practicing discursive pressure on the non-compliant subalterns gets a noticeable cut of the sample (13 articles).

Alike its access to discourse strategies towards the elite subaltern, Haaretz allows the non-compliant elite subaltern access to discourse. Haneen Zoabi’s statements, mistranslated utterances, apologies and subjugation to the colonial discursive limits, writers who call for

lynching her, who consider her an asset for asserting Israeli's democracy and those who show empathy are all allowed access as part of a contradictory and confessional discourse which "can be possible sites of resistance" and not only a space "displaying and constructing a compliant subject who accepts all difficulties as a sign of the need for greater subjection" (Mills, 1997, 84). Haaretz uses "this astonishing constraint, which it imposed on everyone, to say everything in order to efface everything, to formulate even the least faults in an uninterrupted, desperate, exhaustive murmuring, from which nothing must escape (Foucault, 1979, 84).

As for Zoabi, she is talking about difficulties that arouse from political demands imposed on her as an elite subaltern who is part of the system i.e. attending the Holocaust ceremony. This "results in behavior such as ... outbursts of anger, all of which may be classified ... as aberrant" (Mills, 1997, 282). "Rather than being a position simply of the display of compliance" and attempting to grasp "possibilities within the discourse of the confessional to accrue power to oneself", "the subject is turned into a 'case' in the process of inserting herself into the ... confessional discourse. (ibid, 1997, 81, 84). Haaretz reduces the whole issue of the Israeli soldiers killing demonstrators into a discursive contest on punishment and disqualification. An epistemic shift that builds new tools of negotiating alternative contexts and dramatized parts of the reality. It turns the event into a spectacle of a dramatized parade of statements that adds to the ambiguity. Zoabi is introduced as an argumentative character that "has a talent for raising the blood pressure of most Israelis" (Arens, 2016).

The storytelling starts second: her statements on the Israeli soldiers killing of human beings are not raised for argument, on the contrary, an exceptional event is amplified; she is accused of violating the laws. A previous record of i.e., "insulting policemen" was put into contradiction with her official job as a lawmaker, a list of apologies and paying of fines are

systematically amplified in the reporting steering the audience into negative portrayals such as violence and disrespect.

The knowledge produced and amplified about her, and the virtual bodily pressure practiced through simulacra enables not a possibility of sympathizing with her; none the least, her political views are reduced to a discussion of her violation record and lynching her. Can this trigger generalizations? Probably yes. The Palestinian who is upgraded into an elite subaltern under the colonial regime will not be loyal; an issue raised in the discussion “democracy is based on sovereignty, which in turn is based on basic loyalty. Without these, democracy cannot exist” (Lis, 2016a).

Fairclough “stresses that textual meaning is sometimes indeterminate and that units within a discourse are subject to different interpretations. For him, intertextuality is one aspect of textual construction that brings about ambivalence within a text; if a statement from one text is integrated into another, it creates some sort of disjunction (Mills, 1997). If “the surface of a text may be multiply determined by the various other texts which go into its composition, then elements of that textual surface may not be placed concerning the text’s intertextual network’ (ibid.: 105). This example shows how intersexuality works in Haaretz. The relation between Haneen Zoabi’s original statements highlighted by Ravit Hecht in his article “Political Lynching of an Israeli Arab Lawmaker” reports “Zoabi remarked, “you killed them,” which was later interpreted as “Israeli soldiers are murderers,” after she was insulted and shouted at by MKs”. Zoabi's words are placed within direct quotation marks, and Israeli MPs’ words are placed in an indirect speech marked by phrases such as ‘MPs demanded’ and ‘they said’ “MK Mickey Levy of Yesh Atid, who ran to the rostrum yelling “filth” and “scum of the earth”. I cite these against “At the plenum, Zoabi said that "I stood here six years ago, some of you remember the hatred and hostility toward me, and look where we got to.

Apologies to the families of those who were called terrorists. For the nine that were killed, it turns out that their families need to be compensated" (Hecht, 2016). I demand an apology to all the political activists who were on the Marmara and an apology to MK Haneen Zoabi, whom you've incited against for six years. I demand compensation and I will donate it to the next flotilla" (Lis & Haaretz, 2016).

The original statements have undergone a semantic transformation by translating "you killed them" into "Israeli soldiers are murders" in all Haaretz media literature reporting her statements. Fairclough (1992) remark that the ambiguity created through this intertextuality through the polarized demands "show that the article, on the whole, is a blending of the voice of the [newspaper] with that of the [Israeli MKs and the colonial reduction technique] so that it is often not clear who is speaking" applies can be traced (Mills, 1997, 157). In this piece, it is unclear who is demanding an apology. .... "there is ambiguity, MK voices are merged with the voice of Haaretz "so that the cautious recommendations which the report makes become the [newspaper] own clearer, more polarized demands (ibid, 1997, 156). Haaretz builds upon excitement and sudden release of excitement which is a common practice of control by "feeding anticipation". As for dramatization, it means a special processing of the language that aims at creating an emotional stress followed by relation (Babin, 1995, 49, 31). However, "Instead of referring to a group of statements or modes of knowing, discourse is now characterized as being open to different interpretations and thus open to resistance, even when at its most seemingly powerful" (mills, 1997, 129).

Mediation between officials and readers reflects "the ideological work of transmitting the voices of power in a disguised and covert form. Translating the language of an official [MK] into a version of the popular speech is one instance of a more general translation of public language . . . into private language: a linguistic shift which is itself part of the rearticulating

of the relationship between the public domain of the political (economic, religious) events and social agents, and the private domain, the domain of the 'lifeworld', of common experience" (Fairclough, 1992b, 110).

Within the given hegemonic formation such an alternative discourse was able to emerge (Porter, 1982, 181). Four groups of repressive discursive patterns can be traced reporting Zoabi who is part of the institutional colonial regime i.e. the Knesset, who is called Arab-Israeli as if Palestinians were found here either by coincidence or mistake and who "crossed every line" (Deleuze, 2007). We can draw on what happens when accepting sexism as part of the language, what can understand what happens by accepting Palestinianess as part of the language. "subjects are called upon to recognize themselves as taking up a position within a hierarchized system of [racial] differentiation; thus, sexism forces subject into an acceptance of the status quo and of prevalent views of [the colonized] women as inferior and sexually available to [the colonizing power], with [the colonized] as superior, in control, and so on (Mills, 1997, 44). Dale Spender's ideological analysis of sexism" can extend to the colonial context "as an indicator of [colonial] wider control over women as a group and an index of the systematic nature of [colonialism and racial dominance] (Spender, 1985). This debate, where the "textual meaning is sometimes indeterminate and that units within a discourse are subject to different interpretations" which refers to intertextuality "has been a struggle to change words, a struggle over language, at the same time as it has been a struggle over legitimacy and about who has the right to define the usage of language (Mills, 1997, 44).

This unfolds well in this piece "A bill to depose lawmakers who have expressed support of terror or racism, or who have voiced opposition to Israel's character as a Jewish and democratic state, is currently being advanced in the Knesset's Constitution, Law and Justice Committee"(Lis & Haaretz, 2016). The destruction of contexts, imposition of sets of believe,

on the Other and classification of what is terror and racism, keeping the identity of colonialism seems “‘natural’ or dominant within a culture, it does not allow us any real sense of how it would be possible to intervene and change that process” (ibid, 1997, 44). This is how “discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it (Foucault, 1978, 100-1). This uncovers “certain forms of signification” that “are silently excluded, and certain signifiers ‘fixed’ in a commanding position” in these “regulated discourses”(Eagleton, 1991, 194).

These patterns can be followed as objectifying her for being a space for contest and discursive dispute. “Discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct and constitute them” (Fairclough, 1992, 3), leading “language back from grammar to the naked power of speech, and there it encounters the untamed, imperious being of words (Foucault, 1970, 299–300).

Haaretz heavily constructs a pattern of legal penalties and punishments. Mikhail Bakhtin sometimes uses discourse to signify either a voice (as in double-voiced discourse) or a method of using words which presumes authority (Hawthorn, 1992, 48). Semantically, suspension and disqualification inter alia other accusatory epistemes and statements are heavily used. In Aeyal Gross’s “The Knesset's Latest Attempt to Disenfranchise Israeli Arabs” the text was overruled by the word disqualify; the word suspend has been seeded heavily every other line: “Zoabi and Ghattas received longer suspensions because of previous complaints against them filed with the committee. In the previous Knesset, Zoabi was suspended for six months over her remarks in favor of the Palestinian terrorists who carried out the kidnapping and murder of three Jewish teens in the West Bank. The suspension was most severe sanction leveled by the committee in the Knesset's history. However, shortly after her suspension the Knesset was dissolved ahead of the new elections (underlining is in original text) (Gross, 2016).

Different semantic aggressive statements and epistemes expressing punishment is seeded heavily. To exemplify, these bodily pressure structures can be traced in different articles: “the lynching of Haneen Zoabi”; “suspended”, “barred”, “explosion”, “boycotting her speech”, “to put her in her place”, “stop broadcasting her speeches”, a “call for censorship on her speeches”; punishment was important to deter others, committed a violation, verbally attacked, convicted; “disqualify”, (heavily repeated); “eject block representation”, “eliminating a faction”; “thrown out of Knesset”, “Some would like to throw her out of the Knesset”, “others suggest that members of the Knesset leave the chamber when she comes to the podium” (Levy, 2016b; Lis, 2016; Shpigel & Khoury, 2016; Gross, 2016; Arens, 2016). These reputations draw “attention to systematic organizational properties of dialogue and provide ways of describing the” (Fairclough, 1992, 15).

Incitement patterns at all directions are grouped along with the sample: “this woman” is used instead of MK which delegitimizes her and reduces her representative status” (Lis, 2016b). Other repetitive statements contribute to the figure portrayal construction or background style against which any particular thing can appear and contiguous relationships, structures on the semantic shifts of meaning (Babin, 1995). Let’s consider these examples: “driven by the desire to destroy Israel”, “abuse of democracy”, “verbal clashes”, “she is doing service too Israel, an asset to Israel”, “he is doing a disservice to Israel’s Arab citizens”; “It is only Israel’s Arab citizens who can do that. But how? Do they have the courage to publicly disassociate themselves from her invectives? (Lis, 2016b; Arens, 2016).

Incitement is achieved by calling names has been amplified inter and intra texts: “terrorist”, “neo-fascist”, “Balad MKs Haneen Zoabi, Jamal Zahalka and Basel Ghattas aim their poisoned arrows of criticism at the “dictatorship” in Syria, while in the same breath censoring

a Palestinian-Arab journalist. Opportunism at its best” (Andreas, 2016). Moshe Arens openly draws paths for us and them in his article as part of the elite subaltern factorizing, imposition and negotiating techniques over reality “Israel is a model democracy”, “to all those, Jews and Arabs, who want to promote the integration of Israel’s Arab citizens into Israel’s society and economy, her words are anathema” and “the only choice facing the Arab voter who wishes to demonstrate his belief in the integration of Israel’s Arab community in Israeli society and economy is to vote for one of the non-Arab parties” (Arens, 2016).

A Western-centric pattern that harnesses Haneen Zoabi’s resistance under her legislative title as an Israeli Arab lawmaker into the service of the Occidental democratic face of the colonization and the subaltern submissive confessional discourse is constructed. This reveals in Moshe Arne's article: “That the slander that Israel is an apartheid state and is going down a slippery slope toward fascism, is belied by her very appearances in the Knesset. Proof that not only can the freedom of speech existing in Israel serve as an example to other democracies, but that there probably are no other democracies where this kind of slander against the state would be permitted. It is hard to imagine such attacks on the state in the American Senate or House of Representatives, the British parliament, or the French legislature. Only in Israel” (ibid, 2016). This absorbent West-directed language is fostered by a discourse that presents Israel as a country of law. In Aeyal Gross’s “The Knesset's Latest Attempt to Disenfranchise Israeli Arabs”, this approach is amplified “the more the Knesset tried to expand the law, the more the court restricted it ... behind words that sound right on paper, was to silence parties that expressed support for Palestinian opposition to the occupation, the Supreme Court’s rulings repeatedly saved the Central Election Committee from itself” (Gross, 2016). Under this reduction of the question of occupation into an institutional clash that serves image whitening of the occupation - a discursive decentring tool: not even the Israeli soldiers killing of the demonstrators on the flotilla is discussed; not even

the non-compliant subaltern concerns are highlighted, it is the Israeli's colonial image that is cantered. As she kept repeating "you killed them", it is when Knesset members who wildly congregated around Zoabi, "a scene of the kind that would occur in an unruly parliament in one of the world's least developed countries and appear on late-night television as some kind of curiosity" (Hecht, 2016).

In Jonathan Lis and Almog Ben Zikri article "Israeli Arab Lawmaker Refuses Holocaust Day Invite: Israel Today Is Like Germany in 1930s", Zoabi said she respects the memory of those killed in the Holocaust, but objects to the way Israel teaches the Holocaust to future generations", "Out of respect for the Holocaust, its victims, and its lessons, I appeal to you and beg you to deal critically with the Israeli usage, which exploits and minimizes the Holocaust; to educate Israelis to critical thinking and moral awareness; and to open their eyes to the ongoing oppression of the Palestinian people, she concluded" (Lis & Ben Zikri, 2016). Under the simplification, the colonial atrocities objected by Zoabi for being taught in Israel in a "selective and manipulative fashion" are reduced to calls for reforming actions; to asserting Israel as a benchmark to judge and open ... eyes" to the "ongoing oppression" against the Palestinians (ibid, 2016). Despite silencing the apology act, noticeably, this particular Zoabi's statement was forged using passive voice, and institutional discursive pressure tool that absolves the Israeli occupation of responsibility. Noticeably, her accusatory utterances of Israel didn't deviate from the linguistic discursive limits of the colonial discourse. In the same article, she is quoted saying: "The Holocaust obligates us not to be silent when racist laws are legislated, not to be silent when natives are exiled, not to be silent when their land and property is stolen, not to be silent when entire neighbourhoods and entire families are bombed and wiped off the face of the earth, and not to be silent when political activists are put in administrative detention" (ibid, 2016).

This linguistic structure i.e. passive voice destroys all contexts. The perpetrators are looked forward at as a mediator, the language of the technician that is understood by the West fosters the Israeli occidental approach. The Israeli colonialism is whitened for being a referee aspired by the subaltern. The major issue raised about comparing Israel to Nazi Germany was discursively alienated. The narration starts second: an MK who was invited in her capacity as part of the colonial organizational system refuses to participate and violates the limits of the colonial discourse turns to an apology under a mitigated diluted discourse.

These hybrid discourses have ‘the sense of the doctor shifting and constraining topic following a pre-set agenda, which the patient is not being allowed to disturb’ (Mishler 141 as cited in (Fairclough, 2014) suggest another shift. In Gideon Levy’s article “Secular People, Gays and Arabs Don't Have Feelings in Israel”, the visual space was double-loaded with different discourses to narrate Zoabi’s lynching. Gideon Levy uses the passive voice when talking about the atrocities of the Israeli occupation “I’m offended by the anti-democratic, nationalist atmosphere that has taken over my country”, the gerunds which mean a meaning or event not associated with a specified time such as “the lynching”, “every additional day of the occupation, every additional day of the blockade of Gaza, every additional day of the executions, arrests, abuses, land expropriations and settlements” and the indefinite articles “My feelings are hurt when a radio program about an eminent poet dear to my heart, Mahmoud Darwish, provokes such an ugly, boorish, nationalist storm” where these doings seem to be no one’s sin, at least not the Israeli’s (Levy, 2016b). Semantic transformation and nomenclatures conjured with passive voice are repetitive: “a certain country has the violent rule over millions of people., depriving them ...”, “were killed”; “the death of nine” not killing, “raid by” not attack, abuse of democracy not freedom of

expression, “families of terrorists”, “neo-fascist” (Shumsky, 2016; Lis, 2016b). This amplifies Israeli’s escorting itself the responsibility.

Levy uses the minority, secular, and a normal (gay) umbrella to establish for asymmetric relation between three components that trigger images from the repertoire; an image that unites under non-consensual, not-settled, and interrogatory issues. The use of “Arabs” reveals how the colonial discursive structures work to efface the Palestinian national identity, it further reduces the collective identity of a people into the level of a religious or sexual individual identity. Despite establishing Israeli racist practices all along with the three sectors that cannot be tackled together because of their different ideological and human premises, this discourse reduces the racist practices towards the national Other into a minority and part of the Israeli society problems. If not read ambiguously, the relationship with the occupation is deluded or further effaced. He further puts the whole issue under an emotional personal frame through the use of these speech acts: “offends” or “hurt [his feelings]”. This simplifies, rather, shifts the topic from its legal, ethical and moral discussion to the personal.

Can this read a different way? Maybe. Still, the game of focus starts with semantic transformations and ends not with the discursively allowed criticism of the institution performance, morals, not legality and the basic notion of the colonial occupation existence and function as an occupying force. It further asserts the master/slave dichotomy as it portrays the colonial as a saviour and merciful. This helps decolonize the Palestinians. To understand this, let’s consider Franz Fanon’s understanding of similar colonial situation and manipulation.

“The colonial world is a world divided into compartments. It is probably unnecessary to recall the existence of native quarters and European quarters, of schools for natives and schools for Europeans; in the same way we need not recall Apartheid in South Africa, yet, if

we examine closely this system of compartments, we will at least be able to reveal the lines of force it implies. This approach to the colonial world, its ordering and its geographical lay-out will allow us to mark out the lines on which a decolonised society will be reorganised” (Fanon, 1963, 18-19).

#### **4.1.2 Discursive Constructions of Othering in the Reporting of Ynet**

Ynet coverage reveals an interest in reporting emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal events on Palestinian females; with (36) news articles. News coverage categorizes under five **major groups within which different discursive constructions of the subaltern others are erected**: Firstly: the Palestinian “terrorist” female which is reported basically under, but not limited to, the lens of Occidentalism (12 Articles); secondly; non-political daily aspects of Palestinian females where they are reported basically under, but not limited to, the lens of Oriental frame (5 articles); Thirdly, the non-compliant subaltern which is worked out under bodily pressure (14 articles); fourthly, females and the economic factor which are worked out basically, but not limited to, the occidental frame (2 articles); fifthly; (3 articles) reported Palestinians females under different headlines. .

##### **4.1.2.1 The Silenced at Work: Ynet Discursive Construction of the Palestinian Female Other**

Ynet imposes ritualized forms, a circle of attention, and silence on the Palestinian female Other (Foucault, 1981: 51). It tends to construct the Palestinian females; the Other, through patterns of discursive structures reporting selective emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal events in their world. The latter is molded under two categorizations: the “stabbing” and the “terrorist attacks”. These categorizations triggered different discursive

constructions in terms of the used frames; however, access to discourse and semantic constructions are likely to reveal the least differences. This examination of how the Other is discursively constructed splits over two topics of reporting: women in their daily life and the attackers.

**As for reporting of daily life of the Palestinian females,** emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal events of Palestinian female's world are amplified. The discursive structures are used under a pattern of syntactic and semantic linguistic constraints, control to access to discourse and alongside repetitive simulacra produced by virtue of a wide spectrum of frames such as the terror, Islamic terror, psychological and oriental. The occidental frame is used to foster the master-slave dichotomy and whiten the occupation as a result.

This abstract from Yossi Yehoshua's news report "11% of terrorists in the current wave of violence were women" published 02.17.16, shows that not only Ynet speaks for the Palestinian Females, it also tends to change their shape i.e., the attacks of the females, reported "stable" and educated" are "individual", "rare" and "happen for no clear reason". Description is "based on conjecture", which is counted as knowledge, factual and "authorized as part of a larger accretive knowledge system which characterized colonized nations as inferior and as subhuman" (Mills, 1997, 111). It obscures not only the occupation from being discussed but also simplifies the Palestinian females' actions against the Israeli occupation army; it tends to discuss the attacks as part of internal political, social, and psychological contradictions. Let's consider these excerpts:

"An analysis conducted by the IDF finds most female terrorists came from affluent and educated families; many decided to carry out attacks after being exposed to serious

incitement on TV and online ... under 20 years of age, while 11 percent were women, an internal IDF and Shin Bet document” (Yehoshua ,2016)". An analysis of the data indicates several reasons for the recent outbreak of terrorism, including the lack of a political horizon, the feeling that Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas' era has come to an end, and a sense of alienation of the Palestinian public from the Palestinian Authority ... women's distress and personal motives were the catalysts for carrying out the attacks ... The new Palestinian, officials say, is not worried about the IDF's punitive measures or its nightly arrest raids ... women's actions are complicated, they are not from the margins of society - most of them come from stable and educated families... Their feelings of stress and personal frustration with their parents, combined with the basic hostility they feel toward Israel, have created fertile ground for terrorist attacks” (Yehoshua, 2016).

Ynet uses the simple past to report Palestinian females’ attacks. This suggests that the culture of the colonized “as existing on a different time- scale to the colonizers ... a period which has been superseded by the colonizers and hence denying them ‘coevalness’ (Fabian, 1983,1). The past tense is accompanied with such terms “basic hostility”, “family hierarchy”, “distress” and complicated”. It sets them within a past period of “development or Western progress and is therefore not permitted to exist on its terms; it exists only in an underdeveloped parody of "civilization, a state which Homi Bhabha has described as being one of ‘mimicry’ (Bhabha, 1994as cited in Mills, 1997, 111). These negative discursive structures “mark off the Other from the realms of humanity” (ibid, 1997, 114). The newspaper “reserves the use of the simple past tense for the occupying authority actions” to report the Israeli institution (army) practices and mediate its view regarding the reasons behind these attacks; by this, this it sets itself firmly in time and place; and makes generalizations and truth-value statements (ibid, 1997)

Palestinian females are categorized under the psychological frame. They are depicted suffering “distress”, “personal frustrations”, “basic hostility”, “emotional” “psychological aspects behind these women”, and “personal processes”. Palestinian females’ body subjects are constructed; in doing this they are produced as “practiced and subjected” bodies, that is, bodies on which an inferior status has been inscribed’ (Yehoshua, 2016; Bartky, 1988, 71). These discursive structures are actually part of “disciplinary practices”; a “genuine discipline – a system of micro-power that is essentially non-egalitarian and asymmetrical” that creates a ground for exclusion as well that makes the representation more factual (Mills, 1997, 94-95). In this news reporting, ‘the technologies of femininity are taken up and practiced by women against a background of a pervasive sense of bodily deficiency; this accounts for what is often their compulsive or even ritualistic character” (Bartky, 1988, 71).

The use of the present tense “is a signal identifying an “observer’s language” (Fabian, 1983, ix). For the Palestinians, it “freezes” their “society at the time of observation; at worst, it contains assumptions about the repetitiveness, predictability, and conservatism of time of primitives; it reveals a cognitive stance towards its object” (ibid, 1983, 81–82). It freezes the colonial observations on the colonized and effaces boundaries between real and false leading to emotional amplification to control the tragedy and alternate consciousness. The present tense not only freezes the colonial change of the shape by using the social, political, and psychological attributions that explain the Palestinian females’ death; it also makes them objects of knowledge and objectifies them” as something to be observed (ibid, 1983, 81–82). The enlargement of this background event, the contradictions created, and the simplification of colonialism into internal problems would lead to the destruction of the original archetypes and to replace it with discourse-made prototypes with an ultimate aim of control over the portrayed; a discipline in the Foucauldian sense (Babin, 1995). This, for Edward Said and Fabian homogenizes the Palestinian females and produces generalizations. The third person

“marks an Other outside the dialogue”, The Palestinian female “is not spoken to but posited (predicated) as that which contrasts with the personness of the participants in the dialogue (Fabian, 1983, 81–82).

The repetitiveness of nomenclature “terrorist”, “terror wave”; and the psychological, oriental, internal, personal frames are conjured by internal political contradictions that are patterned to simplify and marginalize the occupation. Let’s consider these repetitive structures: “political horizon”, “Abbas era has not come to an end”, family hierarchy”, “psychological aspects behind these women”. These structures would turn the political into social and suggest the construction of the “New Palestinian”, an elite subaltern who is “not worried about the IDF’s punitive measures or its nightly arrest raids” (Yehoshua, 2016). Semantic replacement of words such as the Palestinians with terrorists, inferiors, criminals, etc would emotionally amplify them by realizing them of an urgent nature “facts”; and making value judgments in the headlines and the stretch of text (Trew, 1979, 74). The absence of a formal institutional structure and of “authorities invested with the power to carry out institutional directives creates the impression that the production of femininity is either entirely voluntary or natural’(Bartky, 1988, 75). The semantic transformations structure for argumentation and turn the national motivations into “personal”; allowing for new grounds to negotiate reality.

The ethnographic present is used to report the female attackers. It is mostly conjured by an oriental and an Islamic terror frame. Let’s examine Hassan Shaalan’s news report ‘Terrorist’ may have been fleeing abuse”. The oriental frame can be tracked easily under the thematic representation of home violence. While the female Other is not allowed access to discourse; still, the newspaper makes use of the power of the relative who has “persuasive influence on the mental conditions (stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies) of the discriminatory practices of white group members” (van Dijk, 1996, 91). Let’s consider these excerpts: “sources close to

the woman told Ynet that she was forced to marry a man against her will”, “she fled”, “abusive husband”, “fleeing abuse”, “commit terror attack”, “intention of committing an attack” “fearing the violence that she already experienced at home life” (Shaalán, 2016). However, the criminality and terror frames are used. Consider the following semantic structures: “Criminal”, “terror-related”, “... received information about the woman intent to commit a terror attack” (ibid, 2016).

Let’s examine Ilior El-Hai’s news story “Israeli-Arab mother of 5 tries to join ISIS”. However, the past is used to narrate the female’s actions against the occupation and the disciplinary practices and institutional reports on them. It suggests conclusions; allowing no argumentations or inclusion of questions on how these females are viewed while detached from the colonial and political context. The terror, criminality, and oriental frames are used under repetitive constructions of Islamic terror: “she identifies herself with ISIS’s ideology”, “with the intention of joining ISIS”, “wanted to join ISIS was to fulfill her dream of living under Sharia Law” “the desire to join ISIS” (El-Hai, 2016).

Noticeably, the women are portrayed as “miserable” (abuse article) and “victim to conflict within the family”. This adds to Ynet’s discursive construction patterns of the Palestinian female attackers whose shape is often changed through patterns of amplification, contradictions, and simplifications. Often, they are introduced as individual cases that operate under societal pressure. Under this negative portrayal, the newspaper slides coexistence as a reality. It dramatizes the context by the use of simplification by setting the contrast between the human and non-human: “She is a mother to five children.” (ibid, 2016). This dramatization double articulates as a tool of asserting the psychological dimension of the “personal processes” and dehumanizes those females as being careless and beasts. The

oriental-based discourse is emotionally amplified and is given as facts; in turn, the produced knowledge diminishes boundaries between facts and false.

To this end, the judges, because of their power, have easy access to these discourses, but their power remains less than the power of the relatives as the minds of the audiences can also be successfully accessed. “The judge added during her closing statements that “although the defendant failed in her plans to reach Syria, it is not out of regret that the defendant returned (to Israel) but because she got caught.”, “one of her relatives falsely accused her of intending to commit a terror attack in the area” (ibid, 2016). Not only are the speakers “able to influence the mental models, knowledge, attitudes and eventually even the ideologies of recipients, but they may also indirectly control their future actions. That is, mentally mediated control of the actions of others is the ultimate form”, the conjecture of the judge and the negative images of the relative as a traitor are used to make negative generalizations that are emotionally amplified and are given as facts (van Dijk, 1996, 88-89).

Not only do the discursive structures of news reports on selective emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal events of Palestinian females’ world reverse the use of these time placements: past, present and ethnographic present, they also heavily rely on the oriental frames.

Considering this AP republished news article in Ynet “Killings spark reckoning over the status of Arab women in Israel” and Omri Efraim’s news article “Increase in murders of Arab women in 2016” Palestinian females are amplified as “victims of domestic violence”. semantic transformations which turn the political into social are incorporated as discursive structures, the cycle of violence “will be able to position the workplace as a safe place where women can vent and share without fear, and get a help on the way to the exit from the cycle

of violence (Efraim, 2016) and “unprecedented demonstration against the mistreatment of women” and “protests” (n.a, 2016). We can trace different examples “Many Arab women in Israel face the threat of violence from husbands and relatives”, “abuse”, “death threats”, “violent grip”, “divorced”, “masked gunmen”, “string of murders”, “mistreatment”, “honor killing”, spousal abuse” (ibid, 2016).

Oriental items repetitively function through the discourse. These structures are conjured with value-laden words such as “traumatized”. Negative images and generalizations are proliferated: “where women can be killed by relatives”, “the vast majority of the killings are the result of rampant spousal abuse that has been ignored by police in a landscape rife with drugs, crime, and poverty”, “ are killed in Arab neighborhoods of Ramla and Lod, cities just outside of Tel Aviv where several large clans involved in organized crime have made weapons easily accessible and allowed violence, particularly toward women” (ibid, 2016). Conjecture is presented as facts; individual and collective generalized simulacra are produced as knowledge. visual bodies, the body, in this case, exceeds the philosophical notion to involvement to spectacularism, where it becomes inverted; informed with” installation of false universals’, interested ideologies that are made to pass as neutral and naturally occurring facts”; and controlled (Downing, 2000: 13 as cited in Yang, 2016, 79)

Ynet's voice spreads over a third of the article mediating between authority and people and storytelling the socially triggered killing of the Palestinian women. Ynet controls the turn shift of the voices which are allowed access to discourse. The same discursive patterns of Other access to discourse distribute voices over a cognitively affecting map of subjects. The Palestinian female technicians; a social worker who founded the Arab Women in the Centre organization to aid victims in the Lod area, is quoted saying: “women in Arab society have a lower status. So, when there is violence, who pays the price? Women”, the Israeli police”,

“Israeli authorities treat the oppression of women as a given in Arab society. “They deal with us as if the blood of the Arab woman is cheaper” (n.a, 2016) The technician's voice asserts the gap, helps to depict the Palestinian female’s world as inferior, criminal, oppressing, patriarchal, and violent. Accordingly, this ambivalence dehumanizes the Palestinians and exonerates the occupation, vehemently simplified, the responsibility. Within the discursive limits, her note on Israeli authorities’ treatment of the oppression of women is allowed. A criticism of the performance of the police, which is represented in this discourse as a savior and a guardian “we are now calling for more police and social services in their long-neglected neighborhoods” is allowed. Hence, discussion of its legitimacy is tabooed.

The newspaper is mediating to impose an Israeli-centric model. This implies supremacy and creates generalizations. Let’s consider this piece: “AGenerally speaking, Israeli Arabs are poorer and less educated than Israeli Jews, and they suffer from discrimination and substandard public services. Arabs also often accuse the police of being indifferent to crime among the Others” “so long as Jews are not harmed”(ibid, 2016).

Ynet allows Arab-Israeli female parliament members access to discourse, they can criticize the institution's performance but not its legitimacy. The political and colonial is simplified into social. To exemplify, the “Arab lawmaker Aida Touma-Sliman, who heads the parliamentary committee on the status of women and gender equality, said that wasn't enough. She noted that 15 women have been killed in the Ramle-Lod area in the past year, but only three men have been charged” (ibid, 2016).

Not only is the challenging other and decentring of the archetype is created through repetitive discursive structures under the coexistence frame, but the Other is also dramatized through the amplification. The contrast between the human and inhuman is triggered to create a

background of the event and give it a different value: “another divorced mother of four in Jaffa a month later spurred a series of street protests that drew hundreds of women and men, both Arabs and Jews”, “vowed to battle it”, “attitudes have changed in recent years and cooperation is much better” (ibid, 2016).

Despite being internalized, this article shows that the mimicked constructed models through regulation and discipline are not allowed to talk for themselves. “The police force is currently recruiting an additional 1,500 Arab officers and holding outreach programs to strengthen its ties to the community,” said Police spokesperson Micky Rosenfeld, “Israel launched a campaign to collect illegal arms in Arab towns” (ibid, 2016). It is “obvious here that the agents of government speak the language of pure force. The intermediary does not lighten the oppression, nor seek to hide the domination; he shows them up and puts them into practice with the clear conscience of an upholder of the peace; yet he is the bringer of violence into the home and into the mind of the native” (Fanon, 1963, 18-19). Later, it promoted an Arab police officer to deputy commissioner, making him the highest-ranking Muslim ever to serve in the force and putting him in charge of the new law and order drive-in Arab communities” (n.a, 2016). The power of a recruited Muslim access to discourse “will usually imply decisions about the setting (time, place) and an 'agenda' for talk, as well, as the participants being invited or ordered to appear” (van Dijk, 1996, 87). Noticeably, the portrayal of the “New Palestinian” carries within it the seeds of its contradictions and power of manipulating the recipient's minds: “Men know that the Arab woman is now studying more, has more freedom, and we have left a lot of men behind who still think that an Arab woman is worthless, that her body is a property that you can harm without being held accountable” (ibid, 2016).

This suggested a shift of priorities from political to social and the decentralization of the political struggle to culture. It freezes the inferiority of the Palestinian women/society. The colonized is portrayed holding the responsibility of its situation: “families used to tamper with crime scenes and make it difficult for police to collect evidence and testimony in Arab areas” where “the status of women slowly improves”. This situation is not “only the vehicles for the display of her worthlessness in relation to this greater power, who is shown to be supremely merciful (Mills, 1997, 87). Statistics are used to abolish boundaries between the facts and false: “murdered by family members who are not their spouses and more than a third of all women murdered by their spouses in total”, “According to data, in 2016 three Arab women were murdered by their husbands and another seven were murdered by family members who were not their spouse”, “homicide”, ”domestic violence”, female victims”(n.a, 2016).

Conjecture is given not only as facts but also as a disciplinary procedure; a threat with a pre-set agenda: “The days of the instant anti-police, anti-government and anti-establishment sentiment are over,” he said. "The main emphasis now is to be there and to connect with the Arab community” (ibid, 2016)..

Justification is less seeded in discursively constructing the Other as Ynet depends on the negative images and the coexistence frame. The news text has been loaded in part with nomenclator “criminal gangs”, generalizations and negative images under (emotional) amplifications. Let’s consider these experts: “Her ex-husband, who had links to local criminal gangs, would beat her regularly, once breaking her arm and nose, and strangle her until she turned blue, said her mother’. The newspaper allows relatives access to discourse, making use of their power “That is, relative to minority groups, dominance is duplicated: it is the white group as a whole that has special privileges and access to social resources, including

the symbolic resources of communication, whereas the white power elites additionally control the white group at large, by their persuasive influence on the mental conditions (stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies) of the discriminatory practices of white group members” (van Dijk, 1996, 91).

Ynet constructs a counter-modernity model i.e. the Arab world (oriental frame and a language understood by the West). “The killings have some similarities to the "honor killings" elsewhere in the Muslim world, where women can be murdered by relatives for tarnishing the family name through perceived sexual indiscretions. But activists in Israel reject such comparisons, saying the vast majority of the killings are the result of rampant spousal abuse that has been ignored by police in a landscape rife with drugs, crime, and poverty”; shifting discussion to the very basic of the social decenters the political.

**As for reporting of the stabbing attack**, Ynet net tends to obscure the non-elite subalterns’ reported attempting to stab any access to discourse. The narration starts second as somebody is telling the story:

“I do, an eye witness who said he helped neutralize the attackers, recounted what had happened”, "The security guy came inside stabbed, and yelled he was stabbed. I ran outside and kicked hard to neutralize, and they were pinned to the ground. In moments like that, I think they should've been killed.; Ramla Mayor Yoel Lavi said the police was investigating the attack that "is uncharacteristic of the Arab sector in Ramla. Ramla is a multi-cultural city, in which people live in coexistence and in good neighbourly relations, Jews alongside Arabs." (Senior & Morag, 2016).

This “ideological work of transmitting the voices of power is itself part of rearticulating the relationship between the public domain of the political ... events and social agents, and the

private domain, the domain of the 'lifeworld', of common experience (Fairclough, 1992, 110). The tendency of Ynet to act as a mediator "between official bodies and the people at large, in effect, translating these documents into a form which they feel more closely approximates the language usage of their intended readers" (Mills, 1997, 156).

Ynet discursive constructions tend to rely on linguistic structures: time placements and semantic transformations. The discursive structure of the previous example reporting stabbing attacks uses a hybrid syntactic pattern of the past and present tense and the passive/active voice.

The past ("stabbed", "kicked", "didn't succeed") is reserved "for formally narrating events and representing them within a more oral frame of reference. This time placement helps to construct statements as a set of "beliefs of the culture which is inferior to the colonized about death" (Mills, 1997, 5). The passive voice in patterns such as "was shot" and "neutralized" is used to dehumanize the Other presenting him as an object, and to give the produced knowledge "as being simply an instance of a 'fact'" about the indigenous who are objectified as "harm [to the occupation] daily routine" and terminated for being a "terrorist", a nomenclator used all through the sample as a repetitive structure (Fabian, 1983, 81-82; Ben Kimon Elisha, 2016).

The newspaper reserves the use of the simple past tense to the Israeli authority which describes the attacks within the frame of coexistence, an Occidental frame. The voices allowed access to discourse are "firmly put in time and place"; they use the incidents they "witnessed to then make generalizations about the culture [the Palestinians females] as a whole and its beliefs" which these voices assume "everyone adheres to (Mills, 1997, 113, 5). They further suggest that the act belongs to distant past and is over either for the attackers as

in “stabbed”, “arrived” and for the Israeli authorities as if a closure report was issued in excerpts such as: “were apprehended and taken”, “were pinned to the ground”; “ordered her to stop” were passive voice is overwhelming (Senyor & Morag, 2016) and in “a knife was then found near her person” (Ben Kimon, 2016b). Meanwhile, it reserves the present tense to the Israeli authority; to describe the acts of the Israeli army in duty; to depict beliefs about coexistence between the colonized and the colonizer who is presented to “live in coexistence and in good neighbourly relations”. It preserves present to describe the grounding act: terrorism as to freeze it a full-tilt for Palestinian females: “two terrorists open fire” (Reporters Ynet, 2016). Relying on this hybrid system of time placement, justifications, and the occidental image of an army doing its duty is kept circulated. The present tense freezes the moment; this applies to the image about the life under occupation which is depicted as peaceful or to the indigenous who are depicted as terrorists. There is no possibility of change for both, time placement suggests.

When the Palestinian females are reported doing stabbing, the active voice is always used “a terrorist attempted to stab ...” “would-be-stabber shot by a soldier she attacked”; “female assailant took out a knife” (Kimon & Zitun, 2016; Zitun, 2016). The active is sometimes used when reporting an Israeli soldier killing a Palestinian female under the frame of doing a duty or the frame of equal force as “liability may be waived or mitigated in case a legal person who is found to have an organizational model in place”. “the security forces acted quickly and shot them dead”; “the Israeli security forces thwarted five attempted terror attacks...”; “the soldiers fired back and killed the two Palestinians ...” (Zitun, 2016; Ynet Reporters, 2016).

The passive voice is vehemently dominant. Ynet reporting of the killing of Palestinian female Others by the Israeli soldiers. “the terrorist was shot and neutralized”, the terrorist was

“repeatedly called upon to stop”; the “attack foiled” (Ben Kimon, 2016b; Ben Kimon, 2016). Passive voice has the effect of making the actions of the Palestinian females more amplified than the actions of the Israeli army, meanwhile, the use of the nomenclator “terrorist”, a classification, aims at minimizes their killing” (Mills, 1997). Noticeably, these syntactic choices are heavily repetitive all along the sample as it effaces the responsibility of it the colonial system: army and settlers. This means that Passive/active constructions are describing the traces, and aim at “‘emptying’ the landscape of human presence; the ‘native’ is erased from consideration, as media describes everything on the ground and claiming indigenous are lacking” (Trew, 1979, 94). In turn this creates discourses in conflict.

By timescale, superiority is implicitly asserted (Fabian, 1983, ix). By grammatical features, “the Other is marked off from the realms of humanity” (Mills, 1997, 114); the Israeli colonial terror and atrocities against the Palestinian Others and “their attempts to exterminate them” are silenced (Holms as cited in Mills, 1997, 118).

Syntactic and semantic structures continue repetitively as when an airline steward makes the same announcement in several different languages, ... it appears in a manual as a representation of the way the letters of a keyboard are standardly arranged’ (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, 45). These excerpts exemplify for these linguistic repetitions. Palestinian females young age in Eli Senyor, Gilad Morag “Two Arab teenage girls stab guard at Ramla mall” is highlighted as a background for the event. Let’s consider these examples; “with a schoolbag ...”, two eight-graders, 13-year-old cousins...”, “did not show up to school” (Senyor & Morag, 2016). The reasons for Palestinian females committing attacks are reported unclear “we think there might have been a mistake, it could be that the reason behind the attack was an argument between the two sides. “we know they behave normally...” we still don’t know what caused the girls to stab the security guard” “the attack “is uncharacteristic

of the Arab sector in Ramla, Ramla is a multi-cultural city, in which people live in coexistence and in good unneighborly relations". Derogatory speech is pinpointed as a disciplinary practice: " While police forces handcuffed one of the attackers, they did not stop a young man who came near her and spat in her face", "holding her head down with his leg" and nomenclature are repetitive patters: the "female terrorist", "knife-wielding terrorist", "depicting the terrorist" "attempt to harm", the female terrorist lying", "suspicious individual", "the terrorist was identified", "harm our daily routine"; "would-be-stabber", "a terrorist attempted", understand that terrorism .. " , "attack", neutralize a terrorist", "harmed by the terrorist", "wave of terrorism" (Ben Kimon, 2016a; Kimon & Zitun, 2016)".

This repeats heavily inter and intra the sample news reports. Ynet repeatedly uses the "in duty frame" and "the ethics frame" to justify for the killing of the Palestinian females (Senyor & Morag, 2016). This repetition is more noticeable when the terror frame is used. Colonialism constitutes itself as a white subject "representational practices, so that rather than the moments of tension or disjuncture within colonial discourse being located" (Mills, 1997, 120)

The repetitiveness of certain types of event-sequence is deployed. Let's consider this intra-text patterning: "A suspicious individual approached Border Guards stationed in the area who recognized her behavior and warned other soldiers. She was ordered to stop and warning shots were fired into the air. She did not heed the warnings of the soldiers and suddenly drew a knife and moved in their direction", the police continued to call upon them", he "repeatedly called upon her to stop "the would-be-victim of the attack .... was present ... to provide security" "for security of our lives", "around the security forces suspicion" (Ben Kimon, 2016a; Ben Kimon, 2016b; Zitun, 2016; Kimon & Zitun, 2016). These authorized truth-claims produce "theoretically infinite" repetitive utterances that remain "within socially agreed boundaries; authorized "truth-claims (and how many do not?) and "ratified as

knowledge can be classified as statements” (Mills, 1997, 70, 61). Under “unacknowledged ways to legitimize acts of violence against the indigenous Palestinians and Arab Jews”; under a hybridity of role shift between the victim and perpetrator, or what is called sacrificial masochism <sup>12</sup>; under supremacy and re-whitening of the migrant heritage, real has repopulated the space with “obstacles and unknown images, the illusion of transparency collapses as for “space is always differentiated, it is sexual or racist” (Rogoff, 1998, 33). Repetitions serve to support argumentations. “The constancy of the statement, the preservation of its identity through the unique events of the enunciations, its duplication through the identity of the forms is constituted by the functioning of the field of use in which it is placed” (Foucault, 1972, 104)

These statements are grouped because of some institutional virtual pressure; because of a similarity of provenance or context; or because they act in a similar way (Mills, 1997, 63). This knowledge division into fact/falsehood is by virtue a tool of exclusion. It further establishes a pattern of the repetitiveness of certain epistemes regarding terror, whiteness of the Israeli occupation, and fostering a European model to be a referee for a lesser nation. The authorized “truth-claims (and how many do not?) and “ratified as knowledge can be classified as statements (Mills, 1997, 61). They serve to support argumentations. These movements towards the ‘will to truth’, ‘which is imposed on the knowing subject, and in some sense before all experience, a certain position, a certain gaze and a certain function (to see rather than to read, to verify rather than to make commentaries on)’ (Foucault, 1981, 55). They imply serious racial event into a normal and generalized issue, it dwarfs it into a situation

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<sup>12</sup> Susan Handelman, for example, remarks that in Levinas’s later writings “the terms he uses to describe subjectivity and responsibility often become disturbing: trauma, wounding, hostage, obsession, persecution, sacrifice without reserve.” Susan Handelman, “Facing the Other: Levinas, Perelman, Rosenzweig,” in *Divine Aporia: Postmodern Conversations about the Other*, ed. John C. Hawley (London: Associated University Press, 2000), 277.

which triggers few recipients to take a position from an interrogatory issue like “terrorism” or psychological sudden disorders/ mistakes that are given by Ynet as reasons to obscure any discussion of the Israeli colonization. Attacks, detached from their political context, are amplified under denial approach. Ynet denies political reasons and suggest that the attacks are incidents “While the psychological aspects behind these women's actions are complicated, they are not from the margins of society - most of them come from stable and educated families” (Yehoshua, 2016).

Moreover, Ynet hold the right to comment upon the reported events; it imposes knowledge on the recipients “in some sense before all experience, a certain position, a certain gaze and a certain function (to see rather than to read, to verify rather than to make commentaries on)” (ibid, 1981, 55). These excerpts best exemplify for these commentaries used “to ensure that certain texts will always be in print” (Mills, 1997). Let’s consider these examples: “While police forces handcuffed one of the attackers, they did not stop a young man who came near her and spat in her face. The man then left the scene, unhindered by the policemen”, “A terrorist attempted to stab a soldier at a bus station on Route 5 near Ariel in Samaria on Tuesday night, shortly after 5:30. The IDF soldier that the terrorist was attempting to stab shot her, and nobody else was injured” and “the would-be victim of the attack is a combat soldier from the Givati Brigade, and he was present at the bus stop to provide security” (Senyor & Morag, 2016; Kimon & Zitun, 2016). A” division between truth and falsehood within the public domain which was supported and enacted through government intervention” (Mills, 1997, 67).

The newspaper dramatizes what is important for the system: “The accused’s actions undermine the government and society” (El-Hai, 2016). It controls “shifting and constraining topic under a pre-set agenda, which the patient is not being allowed to disturb’ (Misler as

cited in Fairclough, 1992, 141). This shows “a low degree of commitment to the probability of truth value of one of her [their] statements”; “Propositional truth and social relations, knowledge, and power, seem to be intricately linked in such cases” (Mills, 1997, 152; Fairclough, 1992, 142). Let’s consider the following repetitive pattern in the news coverage over this sample” “lightly wounding”, “nobody else was injured” , no injuries were reported”, “none of the Israeli troops were harmed”, Samaria Regional Council Head said 'This is another attempt to harm our daily routine, and it did not succeed”; “the day after a stabbing attack was thwarted .... A video of border Police shooting the female terrorist has surfaced” (Senyor & Morag, 2016; Senyor & Morag, 2016; Zitun, 2016; Kimon, 2016; Ben Kimon Elisha, 2016a)

At the end of some news stories reporting on Palestinian females stabbing, abrupt shifts showing how emphasis, a major issue for Fairclough, was paid to things which the writer/newspaper feels are relevant in. let’s consider this excerpt which dramatizes the event by creating a totally different background where a total context shift is realized. This alters the figure-ground relation: “I want to thank the soldiers for their vigilance. Tourist events throughout Samaria will continue as planned. Tens of thousands of tourists are in Samaria right now, and I hope we have a pleasant and quiet holiday.” (Ben Kimon, 2016a). Rather, the context shift through the amplification of irrelevant events aim at simplifying Palestinian females’ stories which are used as a bridge to slide biopower policies and control over life and death i.e. their killing. This is as if these practices are not the norm under occupation. Let’s consider this piece: “The regular security deployment to Jerusalem and its surroundings have been expanded and security on major roads into the capital has also been increased. Meanwhile, several major roads in the capital will be closed off to vehicles Sunday-Wednesday from 7 am to 8 pm due to expected traffic” (Zitun, 2016). Mediation and “feeding

anticipation”, a common practice of control, can be often traced” “in moments like this, I think she should’ve been killed” (Senyor & Morag, 2016).

By this, the Palestine female Others are belittled by contexts shifts and decentralized by exclusion “the most important structure of discourse is less its constituent parts but rather the function of exclusion” and simulacra which are constituted through a wide range of frames (Mills, 1997, 56). Noticeably, no value-laden words, value judgments, or stereotypes except terrorists are used. Nomenclature: such as “terrorist” produce knowledge that seemingly looks like ‘objective’ statements but they part of the evaluation and denigration patterns. The Palestinian female is portrayed as a homogeneous group.

The meaning is formed leaning on the repertoire and mental models the used frames could evoke. The newspaper depends on intertextuality and reduction of events into either exceptional acts that disturb routine or internal problems; that alienate the Israeli occupation as an actor and further deepen negative images. Using the scalpel of reduction and simplification, a dramatization technique, the Israeli occupation is being tabooed all through Haaretz's discourse. The narration either starts second as events out of the colonial context or are just reduced into binary manifestations “In the context of Foucault’s archaeology, the concept of discourse has some of the same force as structuralism in displacing the subject or reducing her to a mere bearer of systemic processes external to her (Smith, 2002)

Nonetheless, the Primacy of Knowledge of orientalism and terrorism determines how these females are consumed especially by the West who understands this language; and accordingly, how reality is negotiated accordingly as for the tendency to structure thinking about a subject in a particular way and to map out certain procedures and supports for thinking. This would then be classified in terms of its significance in this wider symbolic

system and violence. By virtue of these discursive structures, the archive is a set of “discursive mechanisms or logical constructions; the limits are a kind of selectivity which by default a construction and bias”. These patterns also give evidence to the third type of the Foucauldian “exclusion which maps out what can count as a statement and therefore part of a discursive framework i.e. the is the division between knowledge which is perceived to be true and that which is considered to be false” (Mills, 1997, 66)

New argumentative frameworks of the same Statement “the Palestinian females” lay the ground for new realities on legitimacy and struggle. all these frames constitute statement that keep themselves in place and as “being in true”. They obey rules of some discursive “police” which would have to be reactivated every time one spoke’ (Foucault, 1972, 224).

These statements serve as generalizations which turn peoples of cultures into “less communities of individuals than an indistinguishable mass, about whom one could amass ‘knowledge’ or which could be stereotyped” and “anomalous in relation to a Western norm (Mills, 1997, 109). They dehumanize the colonized. Palestinian females are disqualified through this authorized knowledge. discursive structures are related to hegemony “is shaped by relations of power and ideologies”; it affects the construction of “social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants” (Fairclough, 1992, 12). Ynet uses a fixed mold of discursive structures and dramatization patterns as “a picture of the layout of a typewriter keyboard” that “appears in a manual as a representation of the way the letters of a keyboard are standardly arranged’ (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, 45).

Ynet tends to decenter the Palestinian females by proposing equal discursive constituents: “it is a generation that got tired of family hierarchy, the occupation, and its leaders. It is a

generation that is defiant towards parents and adheres to human rights” (Yehoshua, 2016). The Other is constructed through Semantic Structures. Semantic transformations were used to seed police, security forces, and border security for the Israeli army and occupation forces. The stabbing, shooting was constructed equal to rock(-throwing), and “neutralize” was heavily used to dehumanize the Palestinian females (Kimon & Zitun, 2016; Ben Kimon, 2016b). Female struggle is simplified into a mistake which is suggested a replacement of a whole colonial context.

Ynet constitutes the female Other by nomenclature which “transforms the news texts to the image repertoire filled with those ethnocentric and racist discursive constituents and discourses. “ideology as a structure does not allow for relatively different effects to be experienced by different groups” (Mills, 1997, 8) and exclusion which gives the colonizer the space to represent the Other who is difficult to discuss with western societies as tabooed, and the discourses circulated and “in effect kept in existence” (Mills, 1997, 56). This serves as a bridge for identity effacement and negotiating reality at the absence of the colonized.

#### **4.1.2.2 Face Transplantation: Ynet Discursive Construction of the Palestinian Female Challenging Other**

Previous discussion reveals in parts that constituting the challenging other by reforming the compliant subaltern, is part of the discursive structures of dealing with the non-female compliant subalterns. Models, behaviours, and disciplinary procedures are all embedded for considering the Other. Let’s consider these excerpts: “it is difficult to believe that she’ll return after everything she went through”, “miserable” and “victim”. To this end, the colonial regimes tend to create a mimicry. This mimicry – a “sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline, which ‘appropriates’ the Other as it visualizes

power” presents “the Other as a lacking Self”. It is here theorized as a form of complex desire on the part of the colonizer, rather than simply as an act of oppression and appropriation. The colonizer here is just as much at the mercy of these forms of representation as to the colonized, and is simply caught in the play of desire and fantasy which the colonial context produces” and producing “a compliant subject” (Bhabha, 1994; Bhabha, 1994b: 86; mills, 125, 84).

While Ynet discursive structures work on constructing the Other through selectivity and amplification of emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal events in their world and simplifying the occupation by figure-ground alterations resulting from thematic context shifts: redirecting media coverage to irrelevant issues; a normalizing disciplinary knowledge is produced.

To discursively constitute the challenging Other, Ynet adopts a pattern of discursive and power relations. Let’s consider the **Linda Gradstein** news report “Israel’s Arabs want more industrial zones”. The use of the word “want” reveals that Arabs, none other than the Palestinians whose nationality is unskinned through semantic replacement, are spoken for “Arab women prefer to work closer to home” (Gradstein, 2016). This stems from both traditional modesty and from the fact that there are fewer day-care facilities in Arab towns”; “Israel’s Arabs want more industrial zones”. An oriental frame is suggested by using “traditional modesty”; a different culture to the colonizer that asserts “us”/“them” dichotomy and emotionally amplifies conjecture and the colonial viewpoint of the Other world as facts (ibid, 2016). Palestinian females national interest is reduced into an economic problem/solution issue i.e. low participation in the labour market and poverty: “It is very frustrating for anyone who graduated college and then can’t find a job”, a Palestinian mayor, an elite subaltern, who is allowed access to discourse because of his power, says “Israel’s

Arabs want more industrial zones”; “60 percent of Israel’s Arabs are poor, and 65 percent live below the poverty line” (ibid, 2016). The Mossawa Center, the Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel, says “Israel’s Arabs want more industrial zones” (ibid, 2016). The use of the voice of the technician and statistics are employed to diminish the boundaries between facts and fiction and give power to colonial discourse.

By terms and comparisons such as “Israel’s Arabs want more industrial zones”, which connote that the colonized Palestinian females are “backward” and “preindustrial”, the colonial power is indicating supremacy: a gap is asserted between the colonized and the colonizer who, as the time placement of the past tense suggests, live in a distant period to the colonization. let’s consider this excerpt: “the discrepancy between Arab and Jewish women's participation in the workforce outside the home can partially be attributed the fact that Arab women prefer to work closer to home”, “Participation in the labour force is significantly lower in the Arab sector than the Jewish one” (ibid, 2016). They are existing “only in an underdeveloped parody of ... civilisation, a state which Homi Bhabha has described as being one of ‘mimicry’ (Bhabha, 1994; Mills, 1997, 111).

In a different reading, the newspaper can be seen suggesting a shift, generalized as a collective request, where the subalterns – suggested as “new Palestinians” who are not “worried about the IDF’s punitive measures or its nightly arrest raids” – who are defiant toward parents and adheres to human rights” (Yehoshua, 2016). The value of the contexts is manipulated: “the younger generation, the one that did not experience the first intifada and barely remembers the second one. It is a generation that got tired of family hierarchy, the occupation, and its leaders” (ibid, 2016). The Israeli Occupation, barely recognized as a problem is given the same value as internal societal issues such as family hierarchy and its leaders. This manipulation creates a contradiction where the internal discursive constructions

of the figure ground alteration and masquerading; a major concept of the theory work to interplay the gestalt of the Palestinian Israeli conflict by changing the frames to depict the image of the Other (Babin, 1995).

Palestinian females concerns are neither allowed to foreground the events or the elements related to their condition nor they are not ignored by the colonial authority (Fairclough, 1992). Rather, this colonial authority, presenting itself a guardian for upgrading the colonized through industrial zones, foregrounds its concerns and diagnosis of the problem i.e. the economic solution the way most relevant to it. It interplays the access to discourse and the turn taking management among pre-existing “challenging of the Other” models especially i.e., the “Arab parliament”. It makes the best of their power (Van Dijk, 1992). Noticeably, the “challenging of the Other” models are all committed to the discursive constraints of what can be said. Consider this utterance: “We want to get concrete answers for the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Industry to budget for new industrial zones,” Jafar Farah, the director of Mossawa told said “Israel’s Arabs want more industrial zones”, “There is no possibility of economic independence without this”(Gradstein, 2016).

Moreover, an epistemic shift is created by the semantic shift of political independence to an economic. This technique is constructed by the use of the word “protests” (ibid, 2016). It is vacuumed from its political connotations to assert the economic problem “We have to start a public campaign, going out into the streets and holding protests,” Arab MK Ayman Odeh told the session”. Under this utterance, not only discursive limitation is adhered to, but also the slave/master dichotomy. “The socioeconomic situation of many Arabs is very difficult,” Knesset member Ahmed Tibi who chaired the session said. “The government must fight poverty with a holistic plan to improve the existing infrastructure in Arab towns”, “Israel’s Arabs want more industrial zones” (ibid, 2016).

This is supported by the use of the present tense, the ethnographic present “a signal identifying a discourse as an observer’s language’ (Fabian, 1983, ix), where the discrepancy and master salve models is frozen “as being simply an instance of a ‘fact’ about that culture”, a generalization (Mills, 1997, 113). There is no chance for change.

This time placement can be traced in other articles in this categorization: the economic factor. Let’s examine Itamar Eichner’s “Elkin encourages Palestinian women to do national service in East Jerusalem”. The discursive structures simplify the occupation, they suggest reducing the Palestinian politics into social “I view national service as having the utmost importance in helping minority populations to integrate into Israeli society, particularly residents of East Jerusalem. I am therefore asking that more resources are dedicated to the matter”, “Elkin, meanwhile, is examining the option of including young Palestinian men in national service as well in an effort to reduce the tensions in the city, encourage employment in the area and strengthen Israeli sovereignty in that part of the capital” (Eichner, 2016). In addition to being spoken for, the Palestinian female’s self-initiative to volunteer at schools in East Jerusalem, a contested occupied city, has been “extended - a euphemism for being taken over by Israeli ministries and generalized. This amplification of few cases can be traced in this excerpt: “several dozens of young Palestinian women from East Jerusalem volunteering in the national service, mostly in their area of residence. Today, there are some 100 young Palestinian women who graduated from high school and are now volunteering in schools, kindergartens, HMO clinics, etc” (ibid, 2016).

Through mimicry, regulation, and discipline the Palestinian females challenging Other are constructed: the new volunteers, Palestinian females, “will receive all of the same benefits as Jewish girls do at the end of their national service” (ibid, 2016). This implies conditioned equality and disciplinary practice. “The Authority for National-Civic Service added 30 slots

for young Palestinian women, saying "Bolstering the young women from East Jerusalem using national service in the local education system—which follows the Israeli curriculum—could help in significantly increasing the quality of the education in those schools" (ibid, 2016). Besides the fact that the challenging Other construction process is justified under the colonial view of what interests it, it would double benefit the colonial regime. The argumentative discursive model reveals that the colonial regime will use the subaltern in circulating the Israeli curriculum – an educational project for effacing the Palestinian national identity and Israelizing the city by giving it an alternative colonial identity. It will freeze the Palestinian females in the same traditional jobs “could significantly help the young women themselves in acquiring professional experience so they could work in the field of education in the future” (ibid, 2016).

Discursively, this takes overworks to exploit the aborigines to evacuate its aboriginality and create a new argumentative occidental paradigm for a state trying its best to integrate the minorities, a receptive intra text episteme, while it works on fostering the “us” and ”them” dichotomy by the racial practices: increasing “the slots available to them” i.e. the Palestinian schools that commit themselves to teach the Israeli curriculum; those which refuse this very basic hegemonic practice for Foucault, are excluded. “Other power relations are lived out in the wider contexts of schools, churches and military institutions so that individuals learn to discipline themselves or learn self-discipline through this notion that they are potentially under surveillance (Mills, 1997, 39). This further indicates that the creation of the challenging Other is not an individual process, it is aimed at the level of whole indigenous institutions.

This piece not only pinpoints the time placement, but also makes generalisations suggested by the use of semantic choices such as “several dozens” ( the plural “s” is part of the original text) (ibid, 2016), where dozen itself is plural and is mistakenly used with the plural “s”. it as

well reveals that the colonial system is actually reallocating the Palestinian females in the same traditional jobs that are used the same colonial system to coitize the traditional oriental Palestinian female world.

Ynet through the comparisons proposed with the Jewish society presents Israeli centric-model for the Palestinian females and promotes itself occidental. However, it starts the narration of Palestinian women making abortions second. let's consider these excerpts from Reuters republished news articles "Palestinian women turn to Israel for abortions". With legislation in Palestinian territories barring abortions if the pregnancy is a peril to the mother's mental health, or even if it is a result of rape or incest, Palestinian women at times have no choice but to turn to Israel, where laws are far more permissive. Ynet work like the British tabloids whose "preferential access to the public definition of immigration and minorities, as well as to their derogation as criminals, frauds, invading armies, and radical assassins, among many other descriptions of `them', while at the same time presenting 'lis' as tolerant, tough and valiant, if not as victims".

Under a confessional discourse, Ynet constructs the Other using both the oriental approach where the Palestinian females' world is described as oppressive, backward, and criminal. This is supported by the use of present and ethnographic present which serves to freeze the society as a negative visual orchestration. This confessional discourse gains importance as it allows Palestinian females access to discourse because and accordingly an "access to the control mechanisms of the public mind" as "discourse access is a primary condition for the manufacture of consent, and therefore the most effective way to exercise power and dominance" (van Dijk, 1996, 102)

Ynet reports abortions as the "result of rape or incest", it tells about imprisonment punishments against women who do abortions and cases where abortion is allowed in

Palestinian females' society and "For some women, the motive for abortion is fear of paying the ultimate cost - being killed by a male relative to preserve the family's "honour" or of fear to lose jobs (n a, 2016). In these cases, "the readers or listeners have access to alternative information, or mental resources to oppose such persuasive messages, the result of such manipulation may be the formation of preferred models of specific situations" (van Dijk, 1996, 85).

Let's consider this information built on conjecture and given as truth-value judgment where discussion amplifies them as "simply as anomalous in relation to a Western norm, as an exotic 'spectacle', as the source of 'speechless amazement', rather than as (even) the object of scientific or anthropological enquiry (Mills, 1997, 110). Let's consider these examples "even opting for emergency contraception such as "morning-after" pills is taboo", "the same reduction applies if a woman is threatened with a so-called "honor killing" for getting pregnant outside marriage", doctors are permitted to perform abortions only when pregnancy endangers the mother's life, but not if it is a peril to her mental health" (n a, 2016). That is, the power of preferential access to the media is intimately related to the power of dominant groups to define the ethnic situation, and to contribute to the reproduction of racism, that is, the power of the white (van Dijk, 1996, 102). Under spectacle, the seen becomes an object (Mirzoeff, 2002, 248). Merleau-Ponty asserts that "in visual experience, which pushes objectification further than does tactile experience, we can, at least at first sight, flatter ourselves that we constitute the world, because Ynet presents us with a[n] spectacle spread out before us at a distance, and gives us the illusion of being immediately present everywhere and being situated nowhere (Drake, 2003, 393).

In addition to time placement of these females in present, the repetitive oriental, derogatory, racist and deficient (in relation to a Western norms) such as "illicit unions", "honor killing",

“incest” in addition to ambivalence where 9 cases become a generalization and created a background for the event through amplification “A CBS official, citing anecdotal information relayed by hospital registrars, said 9 Palestinian women from the West Bank or Gaza had abortions in Israel in 2012, and another 6 in 2013” effaces facts (n a, 2016). Information is organized in a way that normalizes access to Israel and Israeli hospitals. It gives the impression that these cases can reach freely without official coordination with the Palestinian side and without official reports from Palestinian committees allowing abortion.

In the following example “Palestinian law limits the procedure”, the colonial practice of “blaming the victim is a major strategy of white elite dominate, also incorporate discourse: charges of discrimination will be reversed by accusing minorities .... of causing their own predicament” is preserved (n a, 2016; van Dijk, 1996, 85) Conservative customs guide much of Palestinian society and parliament has effectively been suspended since 2007 because of factional disputes, making it impossible to amend or pass new laws”, “Women's rights campaigners rue the ban but decriminalization looks unlikely.

The confessional approach, real names are not used, has been a chance for fostering the occidental frame. “where Palestinian law strictly limits the procedure, the choice is stark: have the baby or terminate the pregnancy by using ruses, risky back-alley methods, or even turning to neighbouring Israel, where the laws are far more permissive”, “Palestinian women are turning to Israel, where abortion is available once approved by a medical committee. Palestinians living in East Jerusalem, which Israel counts as part of its jurisdiction, have free access to Israeli hospitals” (n a, 2016). The minority frame is used as well “abortion recipients do not distinguish between East Jerusalem Palestinians and Arab citizens, who make up 20 percent of Israel's population”, 85 percent of recipients were from the Jewish majority, and

15 percent - 2,600 to 2,800 cases annually - either Israeli Arabs or East Jerusalem Palestinians”.

#### **4.1.2.3 Virtual Bodily Pressure: Ynet Discursive constructions of the Palestinian Female Non-Compliant Elite Other**

Ynet, like Haaretz, practices discursive pressure on the virtual bodies of the Palestinian non-compliant females. Under a hybrid strategy of both the mimicry, a “complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline” and of control to access to discourse, the non-compliant elite Palestinian females are constructed. Palestinian females in Ynet reporting of this hybrid categorization of the subaltern are denied access to discourse except for one article. Ynet chooses to speak for them; under a less surveillant strategy, it uses Foucault's calls to liquidate the discourse of this cattery that can use its powers. "Zoabi replied, "The person who murdered is the one who needs to apologize. Nine activists were murdered; you need to apologize and end the blockade on Gaza." (Azulay, 2016b). Rather than only speaking for her, Ynet interweaves a net of discursive constructions to deactivate and subjugate the noncompliant subalterns (Bhabha, 1994, 86).

Zoabi is denied access to discourse. She is often spoken for positively by her spokesperson or her party “the party went on to say that ““The Vengeful punishment will deter us and we will continue fighting against racism and fascism”” (inside inverted commas are part of the original text) (Azulay, 2016a)

Hence, Ynet mediates by using the inverted commas and indirect speech. This suggests that Ynet is mediating, it reveals a sort of disapproval not used when the voices of Israeli officials and the challenging others are allowed access to discourse. Like Haaretz which translated

Zoabi's words "they killed them" into "the Israeli soldiers are murderers", a kind of (emotional) amplification, Ynet mediates "between official bodies and the people at large" by translating what is said "into a form which they feel more closely approximates the language usage of their intended readers' (Azulay, 2016c; Mills, 1997, 156) . Consider this: "Zahalka said they met with the families of the terrorists"(Azulay, 2016a). This classification and nomenclature are an Israeli discursive limit and a semantic transformation where "families of son's whose bodies are held by the Israeli authorities as part of punitive procedures" is modified and dropped on Zahalq's -a pro-Zoabi's initiatives "to promote the return of their sons' bodies for burial"- (Azulay, 2016a). Discursively, the major issue of holding Palestinian dead bodies and biopower policies are not discussed. An epistemic shift is proposed. To this end, Zoabi is objectified and turned into a case.

This trend repeats all through the sample under this categorization. Her "attempts to foreground her concerns" on the burning of the Palestinian Jerusalemite teenager Mohammed Abu Khdeir (semantically transformed into a "killing" to simplify the event), the killing of Turkish peace activists on Marmara Flotilla, comments on Palestinian men escorted in the Israeli army giving testimonial against their people protesting the Israeli settlers burning of the Palestinian teenager a life were all ignored (Mills, 1997, 151). Ynet tends to "shifting and constraining [the] topic[s] following a pre-set agenda, which the patient is not being allowed to disturb' (Fairclough, 1992, 141).

Bodily pressure is a Ynet repetitive pattern. Let's consider Azulay's news article "Knesset shouting match nearly comes to blows" Ynet tends to employ a boole of discursive tools to decenter the elite non-compliant subaltern and deny her to use her power outside the discursive constraints. Threat with a wide spectrum of punishments, derogatory calling,

insults, and lobbying against her can be marked. Contrary to van Dijk's theorizations that “much 'modern' power in democratic societies is persuasive and manipulative rather than coercive (using of force), or incentive”, Ynet and Haaretz reporting reveals a set of “explicit issuing of commands, orders, threats or economic sanctions” in addition to symbolic violence and “selective labelling” (Van Dijk, 1992, 85; Narayan, 1998). Let's consider these examples “in extreme cases, the committee can also withhold wages for one month”, “According to the Knesset's rules, the maximum penalty that can be imposed on one of its members who radically exceeded accepted behavior is to remove her “; “she can't call IDF is soldiers “murderers”, and we won't permit it”, “take her outside”; “Levy yelled at her” ( repetitive structure”; Hazan “ordered Zoabi to rescind her inflammatory speech: “if you don't apologize, I'll remove you”. Punishment takes other forms (Azulay, 2016b; Azulay, 2016b; Ynet reporters, 2016). Accordingly, “we might specify the following schema of access, in terms of who control(s)” what aspect of such a trial (Van Dijk, 1996, 89). Open ends like commentaries keep the discourse in circulation; keep the threat alive.

Value-laden words, nomenclature, negative images are used under different frames. They dramatize the original event i.e. using the power of the Knesset member to criticize the Israeli army for killing others. Certain aspects, mostly personal and irrelevant to the event are amplified to create contrasts between the official position and individual behavior and give value to the event. This leads to a context shift; a simplification of the accusations thwarted upon the original institution. The background or the “entry into discourse is seen to be inextricably linked to questions of authority and legitimacy” (Mills, 1997, 51). she is called and ordered to leave the parliament by Israeli Knesset member Hazan as “Scum, outside Scum”; “other parliamentarians yelled at her, "Liar", "Filth," “scum” and "You belong in Gaza” (capital letters are part of the newspaper mediation, where capitalization is used regularly for proper names), she is called a “terrorist (a heavily repetitive structure inter and intra-text that works

under the terror frame); she is named “one neo-fascist Zoabi”. Her behavior was criticized “Zoabi’s behavior was inappropriate”; “unprecedented historic mistake; “MK Oren Hazan (Likud) confronted her, "Your friends are murderers; you're complicit in terrorism. You've got some nerve. Time's up. You don't use that podium to speak against IDF soldiers.". The psychological frame is employed; an exclusion is used to depict her negatively”; her position as MK is under attack: “she was disqualified” Knesset shouting match...), “no-confidence vote”, “her dismissal from the Knesset .... a complete boycott of Hanin Zoabi (Azulay, 2016c). In other articles, she is projected “shouting” and yelling “raised her voice” (Shaalán, 2016a).

These discursive structures of selectivity and exclusion and practicing discursive bodily pressure, a mimicry complex reform strategy. Regulation, and discipline, are supported by mechanisms that dramatize and further amplify their effect. Ynet uses “attention-seeking 'bullets', and summarizes the various forms of deviance, violation, and crime attributed” to Zoabi by both Israeli voices which are allowed access to discourse and elite subalterns especially relatives and anonymous voices. Let’s consider this: “Zoabi is looking for attention after not receiving a good position in the internal Balad elections,” says an Arab social activist. She is accused of malpractice. A whole article has dramatized her “spotted talking on her while driving” (Senyor, 2016) A whole article is dedicated to accuse her of seeking attention and criticize her work record: “she is the MK with the shortest attendance record” she has ignored rating as for the number of queries submitted (Senyor, 2016). She is reported insulting authority in due and corruption: she “verbally attacked Arab Police Offices” A whole article was paid to accuse her and two other members of her party of corruption scandal and probe which unfolds as a an (emotional) amplification “based on information received from a State Comptroller report that illicit funds amounting to millions of shekels had been

smuggled for political activities into Israel from the Arab world by various means” (Shaalán, 2016a; Shaalan, 2016b) .

Intertextuality and repertoire are activated towards financial or even ethical scandals. The act of receiving funds, named illicit was contextually transformed into “corruption allegations”. Although they were allowed access to discourse, accusation, and suspension continue “accused over a series of corruptions, both deny”, Zoabi and Zahalqa arrived at the offices of the Israeli Police’s investigation unit Monday for questioning as part of an ongoing case into a corruption scandal involving their political party”, “We have not committed any crime. This is a witch hunt that is continuing without any reason,” she adamantly declared” (ibid, 2016b). Irrelevant information are emotionally amplified as presented to distract not only attention but set the priorities of the other which in case of accusation to an Aran party of corruption becomes not the members “We are protesting against the murders and the crimes that the police have not managed to prevent,” the protesters added as they vented their anger with the apparent sluggishness in bringing quiet and security to the streets of Arab neighborhoods” (Shaalán, 2016b). This is part of the social exclusion tools using the frame of the psychological operations: “The two Mk’s will feel abandoned and out of their voters’ interest” (ibid, 2016b). It further narrates the occupation as a guardian and fosters the master/slave dichotomy.

Ynet mediates by using direct quotation marks to report the response of the Other “protest against “the political witch hunt against (Arab) MKs” “(the inverted commas are originally used by the newspaper) (Shaalán, 2016b). It further uses parenthesis to assert we vs them dichotomy. It blends its voice with that of the Israeli institution by further opting to ambiguity “Zoabi, whose provocative and openly anti-Israel statements and deeds have repeatedly placed her under the spotlight, commented on the investigation” (ibid, 2016b). The

newspaper does not hide real reasons for attacking Zoabi which both legitimizes symbolic and physical violence and the disciplinary procedures against the subalterns who violate the discursive constraints of the Israeli discourse authority. Let's consider Goel Beno, Yuval Karni, and Elior Levy's article "Israeli-Arabs disgusted with leaders for boycotting Peres funeral" which by default suggest both generalization and truth-claims: "Zoabi made an anti-Israel speech which caused Knesset members to almost come to blows" (Attali, 2016). She is even delegitimized "(Haneen) Zoabi and (Ayman) Oudeh don't represent the whole sector" (Beno et al., 2016).

Zoabi is allowed access to discourse. While she is allowed to say her part of the story i.e. a criticism of Israeli police performance she slides into the Israeli colonial discursive limits and constraints. When quoted, rarely happens, she is depicted violent; an amplification that is triggered to create a contrast between top and the bottom and the big and the small or the master and the slave (Babin, 1995). Firstly: she is allowed to criticize the performance, not the legitimacy of the institution. Secondly, she has access as long as she promotes the colonial subject self-construction discourse i.e. highlighting it as a savior and a guardian. In a different article criticizing the PA, she is allowed a full access to discourse, none of the above discursive hegemonic structures are used to curtail her. Let's consider Hassan Shaalan's news article "Arab MK calls for end to PA, renewal of Palestinian nationalism" where the colonizer discourse against PA is recycled: "Zoabi reportedly accused the Palestinian Authority's officials of behaving like thugs and hooligans" (Shaalan, 2016b). The panel was held under the auspices of the Musarat center based in Ramallah and was attended by members of the Mada el-Carmel center based in Haifa, along with various academics and politicians from the West Bank", "the Palestinian people and preventing them of protesting against it, even on Facebook". "How can we reduce the power of the PA, and how can we circumvent it or even change it if it's impossible to protest? These are questions which are not answered in the

document.” Zoabi said” (ibid, 2016b). There is an intense concentration, amplification of accusations and repetitive concentration on the Palestinian technician voice reiterating the colonial voice “because of their legal expertise or influence ... have direct and persuasive access to the `minds' of the readers (Van Dijk, 1992).

Incitement is a repetitive supporting mechanism that is alongside the coexistence frame: “I am calling to the Arab public: You are better than this. Cast these people out. We need to be a unified state” (Ynet reporters, 2016). Paradoxically, those who are incited against practice incitement; Zoabi went on to say that “the PA constitutes an obstacle to change, change which needs to come from the street and grassroots movements” (Shaalán, 2016b). The Same colonial path paving techniques are used by Zoabi “Zoabi praised the Palestinians for ridding themselves of the “delusion that an Israeli peace partner exists” (ibid, 2016b).. This discourse, a discourse of a mimicry, is “the bromides of our times, soothing and numbing everything into a kind of flaccid paralysis. Once everything has lost its elasticity, it now appears as if to suddenly contract. Spasms and contractions – that is what we ought to be talking about. Anywhere one finds cramps, spasms, a general shrinking of the spirit – these are the places where nano-racism treads” (Mbembe, 2016, 31).

The Israeli officials’ voices continue amplifying Zoabi’s acts that are irrelevant to the original event to create a different background that gives value to excitement and sudden release of excitement which is a common practice of control by “feeding anticipation”. Her concerns of Israeli soldiers killing of others are simplified and pushed to the background. She is objectified; turned a case that triggers different arguments. Ynet considers her a black stain, a negative image:” this is a black stain that will be recorded in the chronicles of the state” (Ynet reporters, 2016).

When killing others, repetitive Ynet discursive structures of justification are used “the flotilla did not respond to the Israeli navy instructions”, still, the Israeli settlers burning of a Palestinian boy alive is reduced under semantic transformation into a murder; a passive construction as if the crime it is no one’s sin (Azulay & Shaalan, 2016). Ynet did not miss the chance to work under the occidental frame, rather an American and Western end model for the colonized “I’m trying to imagine,” Netanyahu continued, “what would’ve happened at the British parliament if British MPs stood in memory of Jihadist John, or if American Congressmen stood in memory of the murderers from California” (Azulay, 2016a). The occidental frame is directly activated: “we are proud of our soldiers; we salute our soldiers. We are proud of the force that gained control of the Marmara and prevented the blockade” (Azulay, 2016b). An Israeli-centric model is amplified.

Ynet plans events, it uses the judges in addition to the challenging Other, to “imply decisions about the setting (time, place) and an 'agenda' for talk, as well as the participants being invited or ordered to appear (Van Dijk, 1992). Consider this excerpt “I went to the Central Elections Committee and initiated the disqualification of MK Zoabi from serving in the Knesset. Somebody who works against Israel in an armed conflict can't be in the Knesset, the statute says, and she was disqualified! I say this with a heavy sorrow: an unprecedented historic mistake by persons whom I respect, of an institution that I appreciate, the Supreme Court, returned her by voiding the decision of the Central Elections Committee, which is a Knesset decision” (Azulay, 2016b). This has relatively high power in relation to the political consequences.

In all cases, it is not as powerful as a relative: “Members decided to boycott the funeral of former President Shimon Peres; Haneen Zoabi relative Nael Zoabi: I'm embarrassed by what they did” under this emotionally amplified article “Israeli-Arabs disgusted with leaders for

boycotting Peres funeral” (Beno et al., 2016). “Including the symbolic resources of communication, whereas the white power elites additionally control the white group at large, by their persuasive influence on the mental conditions (stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies) of the discriminatory practices of white group members” (Van Dijk, 1992, 91).

Ynet's tendency to employ the coexistence frame, which is remarkably conjoined with the violence frame- to Other the non-elite subalterns can be traced in Ynet's reporting of non-compliant subaltern: “She lives off it and thus damages the coexistence between us and the Arabs” (Azulay, 2016b). Under this accusation, the coexistence frame is used to produce knowledge that contributes to amplification and generalization which are introduced as facts. The opposite holds true for sliding the racist dichotomy of we vs them where the colonial system is more likely interested in to maintain a social distance even under the well-patterned marketing of the coexistence frame.

In addition to reversing the use of the past tense, an overwhelming time placement, the present tense is used. Ynet linguistic structures tend to use the past tense when reporting what has Zoabi's said and her viewpoints and to describe disciplinary procedures and Israeli judgments against her. Let's consider these excerpts: “in extreme cases, the committee can also withhold wages for one month”, Zoabi” faced disciplinary actions, “Israeli Arab Community have expressed their disgust of MK Hanin Zoabi”, “she is the one who needs to apologize” (Azulay, 2016b; Azulay, 2016a; Shaalan, 2016c; Azulay, 2016b).

The past is preserved for the colonial subjects as part of the machinery of manufacturing generalizations based on conjecture which is emotionally amplified as facts. The linguistic discursive structures suggest the present tense for reporting derogatory utterances “other parliamentarians call her “filth” and “scum” (inverted commas are used in the original text),

the same actor is quoted accusing her “Liar”, “Filth”, and “You belong to Gaza” (inverted commas are originally used in the original text), “you support terrorism, you have blood on your hands” (inverted commas are from the original text), “She lives off it and thus damages the coexistence between us and the Arabs. We need to make sure that she doesn't stay in the Knesset. She doesn't represent you like she should; stop backing her up. You can't call IDF soldiers 'murderers,' and “we won't permit it” (Azulay, 2016b; Azulay, 2016b). This tense ‘freezes’ the non-compliant at the time of observation.

#### **4.2 THE “NEW OTHER” MODEL: DISCURSIVE STRUCTURES OF THE EXTREME IN HAARETZ AND YNET**

Drama is an intrinsic part of the discursive structure that constructs the colonized Other. The produced knowledge constitutes part of the power/knowledge relations that create news platforms for figure/ background alteration and negotiating the real. The oriental, occidental, terror, Islamic terror, psychological, homo festive frames, inter alia others, are constructed through linguistic structures, simulacra (negative images), ambivalence, mimicry, semantic transformations, emotional amplification, reduction and simplification, change of the shape, etc. Access to a discourse where inclusion and exclusion are interplayed is controlled. Hence, Haaretz and Ynet tend to maintain a new approach to construct the “New Other” adopting one discourse i.e., the new Palestinian. To this end, discursive linguistic and hegemonic structures are pursued while in some different distribution of weight.

Both newspapers tend to use a hybrid and complex model of constructing the New Other. Both ideological, linguistic, and hegemonic control discursive tools are internalized. Haaretz's new vacuum-deposited shape memory model starts second; it leaps over the real:

the colonial occupation, the collective memory of the colonized, the right to struggle and independence, and the alterity of the Other. It suggests a change of the gestalt or the figure-ground of the conflict; where a **positive false reality** that starts with limited memory or no memory on part of the colonized is depicted under the peace and friendship frames. The newspaper recognizes the other, often dramatized through “excitement and sudden release of excitement which is a common practice of control by “feeding anticipation” (Babin, 1995, 49, 31), as one categorization i.e. the fully compliant subaltern. Not only Haaretz tends to blend the three discourses of the Other categorizations: The Other, the elite subaltern, and the non-compliant elite subaltern, into one new discourse of a compliant subaltern; Ynet net takes almost a similar path. Ynet maintains a new approach towards the New Other which tends to recognize him/her as a fully compliant subaltern that starts second and adopts the Old/New generation dichotomy like Haaretz. “It is a generation that got tired of family hierarchy, the occupation, and its leaders. It is a generation that is defiant toward parents and adheres to human rights. The new Palestinian, officials say, is not worried about the IDF's punitive measures or its nightly arrest raids” (Yehoshua, 2016). Hence, it adheres to a denial approach, in parallel, a frame that exterminates the Other of the Land of Palestine not only symbolically but also physically. Under the new model, even the elite internalized complaint subaltern is denied his existence on the land and ordered out.

Noticeably, the social distance between “us” and “them” is often amplified even when the elite subaltern is constructed. Let’s consider Gideon Levy and Alex Levac news article “What It's Like to Be a 12-year-old Palestinian Girl in Israeli Jail”. Contrary to the classic categorization of the subaltern into Other, elite subaltern, and elite subaltern which triggered different discourses and discursive construction structures, Haaretz opts for new categorizations. The old generation which is either amplified as desired elite subaltern under biopower policies and disciplinary procedures who care only for work permits in Israel –

depicted accordingly as a supreme entity and merciful guardian: “Only her father, Ismail, is feeling forlorn: Not only did his daughter spend time in prison, but the permit he had for working and spending the night in Israel – one of the most comprehensive that the Israeli authorities issue – was revoked”; or depicted as modesty guards “she shoots an imploring look at her mother: Will you let me visit him?”; “S.P., a boy from Kafr Aqab, a Palestinian suburb of Jerusalem. She saw him very briefly in the post (slang for prisoners’ van)” and became as the journalists amplify as a background “A perfect pair behind bars, children who met in prison. A romantic episode – watch for the movie. Her mother, another old generation non-elite subaltern female is indirectly allowed access to discourse. The girl dialogue with her mother implicitly presents a very traditional, close-minded, and ethics patrol employee who is depicted for “nagging”, “she which are all oriental frames that adds to both the recall of the repertoire and asserts we vs them dichotomy not only between the Observer, the journalist, who uses the present to place his linguistic structures but also between the “New Palestinian” and the Other; the old Palestinian generation in this context.

The new generation whose shape is changed through the amplification, simplification and contrast, is emotionally amplified as caring for love and whose bed is perched with “children’s furry animals – a teddy bear, pussy cat and bunny rabbit (Levy & Levac, 2016a). The “game of focus starts with the figure portrayal construction or background style against which any particular thing can appear and contiguous relationships, structures on the semantic shifts of meaning, and therefore it is considered an integral part of its policies (Ibid. 1995, 49). This contraction of the background: jail and a romantic episode in addition to different semantic transformations to be discussed in the following paragraphs “promote the irrationality of the news by manipulating the dramatized object and turning it into a spectacle (Babin. 1995, 49).

Contrary to the Haaretz classic approach to constructing the Other which is mainly worked out through negative images (simulacra) and simplification under Oriental, terror, homophobic and Occidental frames (continues here as for the Old generation), the depiction of the new Other, is built through the amplification of highly selective **positive false** images of the new generation and creating contradictions where abrupt moves between two contradictory scenes of both generations are triggered to create a contrast with the event what will happen; permitting anticipation of the future in Merleau-Ponty's philosophy of horizons (Babin, 1995). This dramatization is worked out under the peace and friendship frames. To this end, a series of selective statements that give the adolescent Other a childish, love and human face are constructed: "She replies to questions with the demonstrative reluctance of an adolescent whose parents are driving her nuts with their tiresome nagging", "D. and S.P. are both 12", "child-prisoner experiences are taking place. D. and S.P. forever", "the 75 days D. spent in jail. She was 12 years and 2 months old at the time of her arrest, just two months above the age of criminal responsibility" (Levy & Levac, 2016a). Age category is heavily amplified as well as the implicit criminal frame. The latter serves as a disciplinary procedure rather than a negative depiction. The jail experience is simplified through sematic transformations.

The Adolescent Other is given access to discourse. Still, it remains a preconditioned access. Like the classic model, the Other has to limit self to the discursive limits of the colonial discourse and according to a pre-set agenda of what can be said; the new Other attempt to articulate concerns is ignored and considered disturbing (Mishler, as cited in Fairclough, 1992, 141): "D. now denies that she had a knife – "I didn't do anything," she says"; "She has to be weak and to speak in low voice "The military judge, Lt. Col. Shmuel Fleischman: "No one's heart, including that of a judge, can be hardened upon hearing the words of little D., spoken in a weak, low voice." (Levy & Levac, 2016a). In the new model, the selected

adolescent Other becomes part of the Foucauldian archive; still, this archive, is limited and deactivated not through direct simulacra as in the classic model but through false positive images which double articulate as a context shift of the centre i.e. the legitimacy of the occupation and right to political struggle into a discursive-made manual of the good Palestinian or the New Palestinian. Discursive limits include as well an imposition of a very restricted memory where the New Other is driven to deny the atrocities the occupation even if a personal experience is discussed; an Other that is not allowed to think of the occupation punitive measures and atrocities and legitimacy or his political rights (Yehoshua, 2016). Sematic transformations are kept at work. Suffering in jail is recontextualized; it is simplified to describe not being able to see parents and bad food; the Israeli Prison Authorities as reduced and contextually transformed into “warders”: “D. suffered in jail. She was the youngest of the seven girls in her cell. The food was bad and skimpy, she says, and the meals often left her hungry. She missed her parents” (Levy & Levac, 2016a).

Consider this conversation between the journalists and the ex-prisoned girl. Besides the set of rules that limit the memory, expressibility, conservation, and reactivation, hegemonic discursive structures, “the reports which she gives of her ... [suffering] are only the vehicles for the display of her own worthlessness in relation to this greater power, who is shown to be supremely merciful, even when he appears to be most cruel” (Foucault, 1978, 14–15; Mills, 1997, 84).

\*The warders actually treated her well, she relates. “They **didn’t do anything bad to me.**”

\***How were the interrogations?** “I don’t remember,” she says and **blanches**” (ibid, 2016).

By this, the archive allowing the non-elite adolescent Other access to discourse is limited and constrained under a set of rules which at a given period and for a definite society defined: 1) the limits and forms of expressibility; 2) the limits of forms of conservation; 3) the limits and forms of memory; and 4) the limits and forms of reactivation' (Foucault, 1978, 14-15).

This may lay more ethical and human concerns that indirectly depict the Palestinians as non-compliant under the Western-Centric model to market the Other alterities such as sending kids to death, which dehumanizes the Palestinians, rather depicts them as beasts. This approach is adhered to with amplified and tension-generating depiction of the Palestinian father who is reported caring for his work permit in Israeli. New discursive construction patterns are allocated to internalize the New Other while the classic oriental and disciplinary patterns are still working to depict the Old Generations. "Only her father, Ismail, is feeling forlorn: Not only did his daughter spend time in prison, but the permit he had for working and spending the night in Israel – one of the most comprehensive that the Israeli authorities' issue – was revoked. Until D.'s arrest, Ismail was employed in building the new high-speed rail line to Jerusalem. Now he's been deprived of that income and his world has crumbled (Levy & Levac, 2016a).

The journalists reserve themselves the right to the commentary "The denial also conflicts with the plea bargain in her case, in which she admitted to being in possession of a knife". This invalidates the girl's concern, her denial "that she had a knife – "I didn't do anything, not ignores it which is a colonial hegemonic practice. "These interactions: the patient attempts to foreground her concerns in her ... condition, but they are ignored by the doctor who only wishes to address those elements of her condition which relate to his diagnosis" (Mills, 1997, 161).. The Other's commentary is allowed as part of criticism to the colonial institution, not its legitimacy "The food was bad and skimpy, she says, and the meals often left her hungry".

Such a commentary reads also as an epistemic and context shift of what can a subaltern say. It is a limitation of accessibility and reactivation. Hunger not the trauma of a 12-year girl's innocent entry to an illegal settlement on Palestinian villages' stolen lands, is amplified and made the background of the Israeli captivity of Palestinian kids. Consequently, this effaces the real, limits the memory, deactivates the Other, and creates new argumentations for the political.

Under this discursive model, the Israelis have to have new approaches to deal with the Israeli occupation violations; denial. In this article, the killing soldier is reproduced as non-Israeli: "A private security guard – who, unusually in Israel". Justifications in this article trespasses classic Haaretz and Ynet justifications where the soldiers are shown taking procedures like warning the girl before killing her or are reported to be on duty. The contradiction created through semantic transformation of the soldier in the Israeli Occupation army into a guard and the Israeli immigrants and colonization in Palestinian for 70 years now as a visit is a striking contextual shift that double articulate. It both exonerates the Israeli army any responsibility of atrocities committed against the Palestinians; simply, the doer is suggested and amplified as a non-Israeli, not one of the "we", the Israelis, but someone who is usually here, a "visitor". New backgrounds contribute to whitening the occupation and creating false realities.

Haaretz discursively transplanted the Israelis a human face and whitened the occupation. Let's consider this example: "the self-righteous words uttered by the military judge" "No one's heart, including that of a judge, can be hardened" and "the Israel Prison Service reduced her sentence by a third after her incarceration stirred some sort of reaction internationally. Possibly even the Prison Service understood that the place of a girl, any girl, is not in Hasharon Prison. In comparison to the amplified implanted positive face of the Israeli

whitened model, the peace frame is internalized. “How will he make a living in the meantime? Maybe we can help? “We want peace, but not like [Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu’s peace. We want peace in which we will be able to visit friends in Tel Aviv. That is peace.” The new discursive structure not only limits the forms of memory allowed for the Other, but it also frames the problem of the colonial regime as an internal mismatch between the Israeli left and right, and simplifies it to dispersed political visions towards to peace “not like [Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu’s peace” (Levy & Levac, 2016a).

This further amplifies the Occidental frame and the end model Western Centric model upon which the Other is judged. This double articulates as linguistic marketing of marketing something difficult for the West to tell and upgrading off the Other through depiction the way they become acceptable and normal “Now D. is holding tightly onto new presents: a pink, heart-shaped cushion handmade in the jailhouse”, human, in love, and **like the kids elsewhere**” (Levy & Levac, 2016a). The legitimacy of the occupation is overlooked. The Other is used exploited to evacuate his state of Otherness by melting it into the other who is marketing its self a “State of exception: a colonial guardian. This drastically contradicts the “Marxist and Marxist feminist critics [who] see ideology as fractured and riven with contradictions, rather than simply imposed in this way (Belsey, 1980; Hennessy, 1993; Landry and MacLean, 1993 as cited in Mills, 1997, 104).

This trespasses ideological contradiction; rather, it is a manipulation. The legitimacy of the occupation is contested. This is realized through context destruction and reinventing the colonial subject as guardian. The Adolescent Other is detached as well as well as the Palestinians who are presented as a minority in Israel and reinvented as Arab Israeli who are denied even their national pride. Palestinians are semantically replaced for “Arabs”.

Van Dijk's settings are manipulated through contradictions of the setting. Journalists "may control many parts of the conversations with their clients, such as the setting (time, place and circumstances" (Van Dijk, 1996, 86) that's why Halhoul, a very traditional far-reaching and conservative Palestinian village) was selected as a setting for the narration and as a discursive tool for organizing the visual theatre of constructing the New Other in the most traditional and far-reaching Palestinian villages, not only Ramallah which has been constructed as a different Palestinian city, an economic bubble and a regularly visited city by Israelis and peace activists. Ramallah model is discursively reconstructed amidst the most unexpected places; an excitement and sudden release of excitement which is a common practice of control by "feeding anticipation. On the assumption that the setting is real regarding the hide of the Others' names technique and the "primacy of knowlede" on the contrary different setting of Halhul. This shock, the discursive construction of the extreme would create anticipation and contribute to the dramatized construction of the setting.

In terms of the very basic linguistic discursive tools, this article starts with a semantic replacement not only of epistemes and statements but of the name of the Other i.e., D. and S.P.: "As For, let's face it, all the surnames have lost their first names, as it were, and there are no more names to name the outrage, no more language to speak the unspeakable. is "– and still talking nonsense about that putrefying miasma of 'the rights of man and the citizen', so-called against all good sense, and despite the fact that for today's state they are hardly the hard-on fodder of yesteryear" (Mbembe, 2016, 32). The word trip in "her trips to court" suggests that D. is not prisoned nor she is under investigation and suggests the occupation takes the Palestinian prisoners on travels. The "bosta" - the metal-made seated prisoners' transfer vehicle between Israeli prisons which are distributed from north to south and a source of torture for Palestinian prisoners is semantically transformed into a 'van'– is depicted as a romantic place. The age of the stabber and ex-prisoner at Israeli prisons "just two months

above the age of criminal responsibility” has been manipulated through a figure-ground alteration where age is amplified as background for the romantic episode not abnormal minors jail experience under occupation nor the Israeli Palestinian conflict and land theft which constitute the excluded real.

Not only does reduction and ambivalence recur in the usage of the letter “D” – and S.P. which creates suspension and suggests generalization, a hegemonic semantic technique for Edward Said, but also in the dramatization (amplification) of selective characteristics. The traditional oriental society of the Palestinians is amplified: “She replies to questions with the demonstrative reluctance of an adolescent whose parents are driving her nuts with their tiresome nagging”, “when we ask whether she will visit him at home after he, too, is released, she shoots an imploring look at her mother: Will you let me visit him?. Happiness for the colonized is also manipulated: “we ask whether she was happy to be released. No, she wasn’t happy, she tells us. She misses S.P., a boy from Kafr Aqab” (Levy & Levac, 2016a).

To make huge contextual transformations in reality; a pattern of repetitive discursive semantic shifts is required. Heterogeneous discourses work under ambiguity and contradiction; the newspapers as ISA’s “can manipulate their concerns in line with those discursive structures (Mills, 1997, 15). The “knowledge which is produced from these indigenous sources is often manipulated by the colonizer” (ibid, 1997, 122). Heroism is simplified into a time-limited event: “the heroine of the hour”; metaphors are also used “shoots an imploring look at her mother” where a semantic transformation is suggested using the word shooting which depicts a very oriental and oppressive society of “modesty guards” and gives a shooting hand-manual for young Palestinian generations to repel against their traditional society, hierarchy and struggle for “human rights” which repetitively used frames in Haaretz discourse as part of the construction of challenging Other often called in the

sample discourse as “New Palestinian” who is even denied talking about his own imprisonment experience which is not of the colonizer's concerns. In return, this conversation that allows the girl’s mother access to discourse is so manipulating and adds to this hybrid discursive tools and frames mixing. Traditionally, Haaretz and Ynet - as this study reveals - do not allow access to the non-compliant non-elite subaltern, hence, the Other under this article allows access to the Stabber with discursive limits as shown above.

This hybridity, the new paradigm of constructing the Other is highly unique in terms of the use of both the journalist reservation of the right to commentary, a discourse circulatory mechanism and semantic transformations; “commentary’s role . . . is to say at last what was silently articulated ‘beyond’ the text. By a paradox which it always displaces but which it never escapes, the commentary must say for the first time, what had, nonetheless, already been said, and must tirelessly repeat what had, however, never been said (Foucault, 1981, 58). This not only destroys contexts and diminishes boundaries between the false and the true but also the recipient’s logic change. Not only does the produced knowledge entail management of the real by suspension, “A romantic episode – watch for the movie”, the journalists say, it also creates new theatres for negotiating reality (Levy & Levac, 2016a).

Without sufficient knowledge, the reader would be shifted to either believe the colonial context is so merciful and tolerant and a chance for love to blossom, or would take a position of strugglers who are betraying their case and neglecting political struggle for private issues. Under “unacknowledged ways to legitimize acts of violence against the indigenous Palestinians and Arab Jews”; under a hybridity of role shift between the victim and perpetrator, or what is called sacrificial masochism; under supremacy and re-whitening of the migrant heritage, real has repopulated the space with “obstacles and unknown images, the

illusion of transparency collapses as for “space is always differentiated, it is sexual or racist” (Rogoff, 1998, 33).

The Palestinian females are a bridge, not only for context destruction, whitening the occupation, decentring the Palestinian actors but also for transforming the political to social and the occupation to a guardian. This bodily pressure, unlike the prevailing technique of physical and symbolic annihilation of elite non-compliant subalterns (see 4.1.2.3), looks more liberal. The Western-Centric it markets the story of something difficult to explain to the West into an expendable object. The occupation and its legality are alienated; the Palestinian females are objectified, they become a case. Let’s re-consider these discursive patterns:

“Her face lights up for a second, however, when we ask whether she was happy to be released. No, she wasn’t happy, she tells us. She misses S.P., a boy from Kafr Aqab...She saw him very briefly in the Posta (slang for prisoners’ van) on one of her trips to court, and hasn’t stopped thinking about him since. Here are photos of him on Facebook. A small boy of 12, head shaven, handcuffed, in a military court. And here’s another image of him, from before he was arrested: a studio portrait in which he’s wearing a black shirt and red tie (Levy & Levac, 2016a)..

The confessional discourse is usually used in the construction of the Challenging Other (see section 4.2.1.2. Under these argumentations, the New Model reduces the Palestinian political project into aborigines who has limited memory or who deny their memory, reinvented identities and recentered Palestinians under the banner “New Generation” must forget or else; it amplifies the Israelis as saviours and guardian, the pot like the American nation under which others are remelted and reinvented as consumers of masked racism and discrimination. To this end, tools of the colonial project are required to change not its identity and esteem “a peace in which we will be able to visit friends in Tel Aviv. That is peace” (the Haaretz

reporter, Gideon Levey who ‘belong’ to the chair of the committee demarks this statement within direct quotation marks the way it is not clear who is talking). Political visions can be approached but not the legitimacy of the colonial system in Palestine and the very basic notion of occupation and ethno-racial discrimination. Consider this closing scene of the visual orchestration of the article which provided threaten with classic physical violence against the aborigines which triggers the pride in the system and its hegemony by the two journalists. The extreme dramatization of the end of this story visually reframes power relations between the colonized and the colonizer.

The news story amplifies “the copper menorah symbol, Israel’s logo, proudly adorns the wall above the little boy in handcuffs, in a photograph taken in court that D. shows us with her shy smile” (Levy & Levac, 2016a). Hegemony manifests in the iconicity of the physical hegemony i.e., the handcuffs and the symbolic domination i.e. the copper menorah symbol which is amplified through the use of positive value-laden words “proudly” and “adorn” and the distribution of the constituents of the visual discourse over the visualized. The Palestinian is down and criminalized and the colonized which is placed high is dominant. The colonized who is stripped all iconicity which means the past and identity and the colonized who is present visually through icons that furnish the memory and build identity.

Like Haaretz, Ynet discursive constructs the Other as a fully compliant subaltern under the frame of coexistence which is amplified as a background for factorizing narrations relating to the other. It uses the same discursive limits as regulatory procedures or construction of the challenging Other. Still, it amplifies the social distance between “us” and “them”. Under the new model, even the elite internalized complaint subalterns are denied their existence on the land. Hence, Ynet adheres to a denial approach, in parallel, under symbolic and physical

annihilation of the Other. The New Palestinian is socially distant under the coexistence frame or non-existent.

Let's consider Yael Freidson and Ran Boker's article "Gopstein waves rag with a photo of Israeli Arab journalist who is being slammed and under server attack by the founder of the Israeli radical anti-assimilation party who threatens: 'We'll make the media wash the floors'". The article is reporting a revenge act in 2016 against a Palestinian female elite subaltern who has proven commitment to the limits of the colonial boundaries. She, on a different occasion, appeals for tolerance, peace; and quoted saying in teary eyes "For those who were but are no more, who fell victim to baseless hatred by those who have forgotten that we were all born in the image of one God. For Sephardim and Ashkenazim, religious and secular, Arabs and Jews, sons of this motherland that reminds us that we have no other place. For us as Israel, for the honor of mankind, and the glory of the State of Israel" (Beck, 2015). She was chosen to light the torch at Israel's "Independence" Day ceremony – the Nakba for her people; the Palestinians.

Ynet gives access to the radical Israeli founder of Lahava, an attacker, and the female journalist who is represented defending herself. Allowing both parties access to discourse, although manipulated through the newspaper does not directly preserve itself the commentary right or mediate between the authority and people directly. Ynet manipulates mediation by clarifying the occasion; a proposition set by Lehava founder "when Aharish interviewed Gopstein on her morning show: "Gopstein is referring to an incident in July 2014, when Aharish interviewed Gopstein on her morning show. "This isn't your country. You shouldn't be here," he told her (Freidson & Boker, 2016). This clarification, being simplified, ignores the time-lapse of the two events: 2014 and 2016. This context destruction reads as a justification and creates an alteration of the figure-ground of the gestalt of the event. Through

amplification, it creates a background that factorizes a contrast between what is provided as action and reaction; the reality vs the real; and the strong vs the weak. A change of the shape of the whole event is triggered accordingly.

Rather than amplifying the Israeli radical right -wing's denial of the Other approach; especially of the elite subaltern journalist and her people's existence in their home land, Ynet amplifies the attack which takes a repetitive pattern and exceeds the area in the text given to the Journalist to respond. controls the turn-taking system (who speaks, for how long, on what topic, and who comments on the foregoing speech and glosses it for its overall meaning) (Mills, 1997, 151). In the colonial context, "writers", journalists and/or the founder of Lahava in this regard, "often tried to maintain distance and differentiation between themselves and the colonized country, in fact, the lived experience of colonialism was invaded by the presence of the colonized Other (ibid, 1997, 121). Let's consider these excerpts: "the head of radical right-wing anti-assimilation organization Lehava, slammed Israeli Arab journalist Lucy Aharish and the rest of the Israeli media", "She compared me to Hamas" (Freidson & Boker, 2016). The elite subaltern has crossed the discursive limits, the excerpt suggests.

The colonized concerns are ignored i.e. Ahraish remarking the hatred in the Israeli right-wing leader 's eyes. This ignorance to the colonized trying to foreground her concerns to address those elements of her condition is conjured by sematic transformation i.e. the use of Arab for Palestinian which denotes denationalization and simplification. Calls for annihilation and uprooting of the Palestinians are reduced to a quarrel were a confessional discourse which is an "astonishing constraint, which is imposed on everyone, to say everything to efface everything, to formulate even the least faults in an uninterrupted, desperate, exhaustive murmuring, from which nothing must escape" (Foucault et al., 1979). Taking about her

concerns of the hatred in the Israeli radical eyes, not the racial and discriminatory system, becomes was an opportunity for Ahraish to highlight her dependency on the system.

This epistemic shift was repetitive in her use of the terror frame and nomenclature “the terrorist”. Let’s consider these examples: “His hatred reminded me of the terrorist who threw a Molotov cocktail at me and looked at me” and the Islamic terror frame “It’s like ISIS. Gopstein is like the garbage can of Islam” (Freidson & Boker, 2016). Ahraish “distances herself from the whole racist structure when it comes to “detailing views that are racist. Attention to discourse here is manifested in the concern with power relations which an analysis of racism demonstrates” (Mills, 1997, 145). She commits herself to the colonial discursive constraints as she uses this simplification; the racism and denial are reduced into a gaze of hatred “Gopstein’s gaze had the same hatred” or something that deserves no response on her part: "he can do whatever he likes. He's not worthy of a response" (Freidson & Boker, 2016). She (emotionally) amplifies is racial utterances as an individual approach while Gopstein himself boosts with a counter fact. He amplifies the demonstration participants as all feeding on the racial and radical principles of Kahane, he mentions the names of similar right-wing figures to foster radicalism as an Israeli collective and public approach, an event that is believed by Ynet not worthy dramatizing. The newspaper creates a contradiction of this emotional event “she can't forget what I told her and keeps crying”. Ynet not only permits the horizons of anticipation of the future in Merleau-Ponty's philosophy of horizons but also promotes “the irrationality of the news by manipulating the dramatized object and turning it into a spectacle (Ibid. 1995, 49). This is elaborated through symbolic violence: “Gopstein waved a rag with Aharish's photo printed on it during a Jerusalem event”, “attacked”, “slammed”, "All these media rags, when we are in the government, we'll make them wash the floors," Gopstein told Ynet afterwards”.

This reflects power relations and the project of physical annihilation of the Other by expulsion out of the land of Palestine. The New Palestinian is non-existent. This is the prevailing approach. To quote the article “Gopstein waved a rag with Aharish's photo printed on it during a Jerusalem event in memory of Rabbi Meir Kahane, which was attended by hundreds of people and included speeches from other prominent right-wing figures such as Rabbi Dov Lior, attorney Itamar Ben-Gvir and former MK Michael Ben-Ari.

Discursive structures are worth investigating for being the shortest news article in the sample but the heaviest stuffed with those discursive structures that reveal virtual bodily pressure. The subaltern, an elite Palestinian female who is reported violating the colonial discursive limits by the simplified claim of making a comparison of a radical Israeli to Hamas. The structuring of the voices in the text gives presidency to the derogatory speech acts which are imbedded with threats and generalizations “Gopstein waved a rag with Aharish's photo printed on it”, “All these media rags, when we are in the government, we'll make them wash the floors”. It adopts an occidental approach and an American end model for “The media needs to understand that just like they fought (US President-elect Donald) Trump, the more they fight me the more it'll strengthen me”. Ynet manages the news text with ambiguity. The reader exerts much effort to know who is talking sometimes (Freidson & Boker, 2016).

## Chapter 5: Findings

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Haaretz and Ynet, like other knowledge production apparatuses, heavily invest in cultural mining; as such, the world of Palestinian females is constantly under observation. This common colonial practice establishes an archive; a categorization system of inclusion and exclusion. The Palestinian females are depicted under frames such as terrorist, backward, mentally ill, etc. The Othering of the Palestinian females goes under three categorizations in the classic model: The Other, the Challenging Other, and the elite-compliant subaltern; in the New Other models, it goes under two categorizations: The New Palestinian and Old Generations. Both models are managed through intricate mechanisms of control of access to discourse. Discursive boundaries and structures are materialized; they become a toolbox for the management of the center. The "vicious circles of tension caused by the reproduction of symbols and turning them into irrational indifference"; certain forms of signification are silently excluded, and certain signifiers are 'fixed' in a commanding position" (Babin, 1995, 55-57; Eagleton, 1991, 193–219). As such; signs are allowed to swallow their referents.

Drama plays an important role in hegemonic discursive constructions of Othering. With attention, the Israeli occupation authorities, a de-facto colonial power, intertwines gendered discourses and speaks for the Other. Produced knowledge redefines the real; inter-plays the gestalt of the Palestinian Israeli conflict; manipulates mental models to legitimize the colonial violence, and creates new grounds for negotiating reality. In a similar vein, it uncovers systems of discursive support and circulation, categorization, and classification mechanisms;

most vehemently, how the truth is ritualized and materialized and news platforms for figure/background alteration are interplayed under these hegemonic discursive tools.

Under their payload of power and simulacra and amplification, a basic dramatization practice, and the hegemonic discursive constructions the frame of Palestinian females and reality is changed. Besides their ability to produce new/hybrid identities, they contribute to visually efface the original archetype and create prototypes and argumentations. The logical discursive “police rules”, for Foucault archaeological analysis, appear to be “concerned with the systems of support which govern the production and the ordering of these statements and, more importantly perhaps, the systems whereby other utterances excluded from the position of being ‘in the true’ and therefore being classified as statements” (Foucault, 1972, 224; Mills, 1997, 61).

Consequently, Haaretz and Ynet's discursive structures lead to masquerading the real. The extreme and hyperreal colonial representation of the Palestinian females is by default a dramatization (see section 4.3). Discourses boundaries are not fixed; they slip under the Israeli power relations paradigms, the west-centric goal models, and the overwhelming thrust to construct the Other or the New Other with an ultimate aim of denial and/or vacuuming and melting the Other. These textual practices ground for the colorizer/colonized relationships which are on hierarchy which “suggests ways in which people who have been assigned a fairly powerless position within a hierarchy negotiate under that position and accrue power to themselves through their use of seemingly powerful styles of language” and reproducing reality (Mills, 1997, 42).

Visual framings are so powerful and destructive. Both newspapers present the produced knowledge, discursive structures, and frames as interpretative schemata, where reality can be

negotiated upon the new visual organization of the elements of the real and manipulation of the repertoire through mental models. Noticeably, different “seemingly heterogeneous” and illogical construction or a series of seemingly unconnected questions which focus only on certain aspects of the patient’s life and behavior; the discourse of the patient’s lifeworld focuses on the illness which the patient has with all other aspects of the patient’s life” “very rigidly defined systems into materials” of classification (Fairclough, 1992, 135; Mills, 1997, 57). “The “writings of both newspapers about the Palestinian females’ culture “entail[.] a heterogeneous discourse, marked by gaps, contradictions and inconsistencies”, this produces a “range of different discourses [that] allow us to read the text as containing destabilizing elements, rather than as being simply a powerful tool” (Mills, 1997, 120-121).

Being so anticipating, they are directed to the deepest parts of the readers consciousness. Emotional, exceptional, extraordinary and abnormal event is turned into a minor event and disseminated through several forms of mass media and gives it what Babin described as the new form which is, in turn, becomes variant, contradictory and incontinent (Babin, 1995). Strikingly, in addition to these contradictions, Haaretz in the classic model of constructing the non-compliant Other and Ynet in its new model allows all voices to say everything; a confessional approach. This “astonishing constraint, which it imposed on everyone, to say everything in order to efface everything, to formulate even the least faults in an uninterrupted, desperate, exhaustive murmuring, from which nothing must escape (Foucault, 1979, 84 as cited in Mills, 1997).

The “discourses of colonialism/imperialism exert pressure on women”; different discourses work in conflict to construct texts. Women who are pressured under disciplinary practices without which women existence will not be initiated in different paths i.e. voicing out concerns about the Israeli occupation. Accordingly, this creates “extreme tensions within the

text” (Mills, 1997, 101-102). The dramatized Construction of the New other through the discursive structures the extreme support Foucault’s believe that these discursive constructions “structure our sense of reality” and are not abstract or enclosed “with the way that discourses inform the extent to which we can think and act only within certain parameters at each historical conjuncture” (Mills, 1997, 51).

Both newspaper schemata interplay the gestalt of the conflict by foreground/ground alterations and “the manipulation of mental models of social events through the use of specific discourse structures, such as the manipulation of mental models of social events through the use of specific discourse structures, such as thematic structures, headlines, style, rhetorical figures, semantic strategies, social events and so on” (Van Dijk, 1984, 84).

These argumentations expose power abuse as for the “relationships between discourse and social power” which are “enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions; “It features the various levels of discourse that may specifically enact, manifest, express, describe, signal, conceal, or legitimate power relations between discourse participants or the groups they belong to” (Van Dijk, 1989, 22, 28). Within the framework of such an account of discursively mediated dominance and inequality. The “imperial metropolis tends to understand itself as determining the periphery . . . it habitually blinds itself to the ways in which the periphery determines the metropolis – beginning perhaps, with the latter’s obsessive need to present its peripheries and its other continually to itself” to contain the Orient and finally representing it or speaking in its behalf (Pratt, 1992, 6; Said, 1978, 20).

Both newspapers mediate between the audience and authority, mediation is sometime manipulated. This argumentative procedure reveals the institutional colonial discourse

ideological interactions which reveal consent or merge with text the way it is not clear who is talking. This ideological imposition in a dramatization structure that is considered so effective “reading a book, “words which carry the ideology are more effective than the papers (Babin, 1995, 31).

Palestinian females’ bodies are a contested area; a place where a war of representation is waged. Being spoken for is a common hegemonic practice even for the elite subalterns who don’t reflect their own ideologies but the colonialist - under mimicry. Palestinian females are denied right to control their bodies. Both newspapers differently report aspects and faults of Palestinian females’ worlds, the selected topics vary for the same period except for the non-compliant subalterns and death. In common, they build upon “excitement and sudden release of excitement which is a common practice of control by “feeding anticipation” (Babin, 1995, 49). Even when reporting on economy and education, both newspapers are “less concerned with the allocation of jobs and salaries than with a deeper project of control over human life in general, whether it is a case of its subjects or of those designated as enemies” (Mbembe, 2016, 29).

Both newspapers are highly concerned with death delegation “since [death] also concerns not only the possibility of sacrifice – or self-sacrifice, the giving of one’s life – but also, and very literally, the possibility of suicide. This is because, in the end, suicide serves to brutally interrupt all dynamic of subjection and any possibility of recognition. The ultimate aim of these sacrificial acts is to master neither life nor the outside world, but an interior dimension; to produce a new morality and, at the end of a decisive (and if need be bloody, and at any rate definitive) battle, to eventually experience an exulting, ecstatic and sovereign form of affirmation” (ibid, 2016, 27, 28).

Haaretz constitutes the Other by simulacra and exclusion. The factorization of discourses under colonial regimes provides evidence to the in-effect machinery of exclusion; a hegemonic subjugation and silencing tool. Simultaneously, it uses simulacra; machinery for negative images, stereotypes, nomenclature, and justification of the atrocities and discrimination of the colonial system. It works at reversing, poisoning the colonized subject, and producing an objectified unhuman that serves as a bridge for identity effacement and negotiating reality even in his absence. Both newspapers depend rely heavily on semantic transformation, give more weight to drama, and amplify the colonial system interests. They ignore the Palestinian female concerns and narration. In parallel, the “colonial Israeli identity goes simultaneously with The Palestinian colonize identity alteration/destruction. Both newspapers, especially Ynet, rely more on the occidental frame even when reporting terrorism and tend more to foster the master-slave dichotomy by proposing Israel as a supreme-centric model for comparison and a guardian.

Both newspapers use ambivalence and mimicry to create the challenging other; a regulatory and disciplinary practice; it is a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline to create the other. Ynet relies heavily upon the economic factor and the amplification of Palestinian females' daily world anomalies it merges the oriental with the occidental to deepen disappearances and exonerate the Israeli occupation responsibility, whiten colonialism and impose a western/American end model to judging the Other. A wide spectrum of frames is used especially including the psychological to depict Palestinian women.

As for access to discourse, in the classic model, the two newspapers use the same linguistic structures and turn shift control of access to discourse to construct the female Other. In addition to constituting a wide spectrum of discursive limits, constraints, and structures, both

newspapers tend to factorize the Palestinian female through bodily pressure, simulacra, and ambivalence. The challenging other and the other of the other are constructed through mimicry.

Not only certain aspects of the Palestinian females' lives are silenced, but their discourses are also ratified. Both newspapers control access to discourse depending on various social or institutional roles, gender, age, position, context, or topicality (Van Dijk, 1996). The Palestinian non-elite female Others are excluded from both newspapers discourse. The non-compliant elite subalterns are excluded from Ynet reporting, allowed access to Haaretz under Foucault's rule "everyone says everything and effaces everything and highlighting discursive structures representing subjugation to the colonial discursive structures and limitations. The voices of the non-elite subalterns are excluded in both newspapers; the voices of the elite subalterns or the challenging Other are allowed access to create alternative voices. The archive distributes over a selected spectrum of Palestinian female elite subalterns: the specialist in the field, MKs, relatives or same group members; "either moderate spokespersons will be quoted who share the opinions or perspective of the majority, or radicals or extremists will be quoted to facilitate ridicule or attack (Downing, 1980). Through confessional discourses, they narrate Palestinian female lives highlighting and retelling interests of the colonial system. In other words, they limit themselves to the discursive constraints of the Israeli discourse. Palestinian females are spoken for inter and intra-texts unless they are making confessions.

The Israeli police, spokespersons, ministers, MKs judges, official institutions' reports, and statistics are heavily given access to these media discourses to mediate power and diminish boundaries between true and false. The non-compliant subalterns are allowed access to

discourse under a complicated process of virtual bodily pressure intertextuality and dramatization.

Under a confessional discourse, Haaretz constructs the challenging Other using the oriental frame; Ynet tends to conjure it with the Oriental and Occidental frames. its “preferential access to the public definition of immigration and minorities, as well as to their derogation as criminals, frauds, invading armies, and radical assassins, among many other other-descriptions of `them', while at the same time presenting [the colonizer] as tolerant, tough and valiant, if not as victims” (Van Dijk, 1996, 102). That is, the power of preferential access to the media is intimately related to the power of dominant groups to define the ethnic situation, and to contribute to the reproduction of racism, that is, the power of the white (ibid, 1996, 102)

Both newspapers not only create a Western end model goal for transforming the alterity of the Palestinian females into inferiority and backwardness; they further create an Israeli-centric model that asserts supremacy and further deepens we vs them dichotomy. Haaretz tends to construct a counter-modernity model i.e., the Arab world. This serves both to assimilate the recipients' repertoire under the oriental framings and foster the construction of the colonial subjects' supremacy. It further serves as a disciplinary tool to subjugate the Palestinian females especially when the oriental framing of the Arab World - a landscape rife for oppression, lack of rights and freedom and oppression- slides into the structuring of comparisons. This media suggests that Palestinian females should consider what can they experience under the Arab state regime. Right-wing and ultra-orthodox Jewish hegemony on females is obscured. The Israeli newspapers construct the Israeli-centric model as a referee for the Arab world.

Physical and symbolic discursive disciplinary and regulatory practices are adopted by both newspapers especially to Otherize the noncompliant subalterns. Generally speaking, both newspapers tend to use symbolic liquidation discursive patterns; tend to use symbolic violence including power-matrix impositions to threaten and make classifications. This is achieved through nomenclature, selective labelling, stereotyping, generalizations, simulacra, etc. Certain aspects of reality such as inferiority, “death culture” and suppression are amplified. As for the non-compliant elite subaltern, Haaretz allows the non-compliant elite subaltern noticeable access to discourse; still, reform strategies like apologies were highlighted, Ynet restricted her access to discourse twice, and spoke for her.

The linguistic discursive constructions in both newspapers are similar, the weight of distribution of these structures makes the slightest differences. Both newspapers use similar dramatization processes to other Palestinian females under power relations; nuances lie in the weight of distribution of the dramatization tools over the classic model of constructing the Other and the “New Other” model. This process is conjured by the use of Occidental and American/Western end goal models to factorize the Israeli colonial Subject and objectify the Palestinian females as cases of inferiority.

Under simulacra, the stab attacks who are categorized under the produced knowledge as non-elite subalterns i.e., the colonized subjects who are difficult to discuss within Western societies, are given terror and oriental skins by Haaretz. This helps to justify the colonial symbolic and physical annihilation of the resistant female Other. A more intricate “hybrid system of meticulous classification [is] transferred to the description of indigenous people (Young, 1995). Concurrently, while Ynet conjures the Occidental frame with the oriental and terror frames to report Palestinian female “stabbers and terrorists”. Ynet aims at simplifying their political involvement into unexplainable and individual mistakes. In return, it

repetitively constructs the colonial subject as a melting pot of the others who are living “in coexistence and good unneighborly relations” with the colonized. Stabbing attacks are marked as incidents that have no nationalistic reasons and might be more of a mistake. Ynet uses a fixed mould of patterns as “a picture of the layout of a typewriter keyboard” that “appears in a manual as a representation of the way the letters of a keyboard are standardly arranged’ (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, 45).

Within these hybrid wide-scale discursive structures such as time-placement, semantic transformations, classification and nomenclature, simplification and amplification, negative images and incitement, generalizations, stereotypes which work under deep frames such as orientalism, Occidentalism, terror, psychological, criminal, peace, and coexistence frames, the statements and epistemes construct racial disciplinary discursive paradigms. This discursive structure justifies the physical annihilation of the colonized and regulates the visual space through “legitimate” symbolic violence.

In effect, both newspapers keep the social distancing by preserving supremacy fuelled discursive structures, "us" vs "them" dichotomy, the disciplinary and regulatory procedures as them, the minority. The produced knowledge infrastructures for argumentative models that redefine the real according to what interests the colonizer; Both newspapers amplify the emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal events in the Palestinian females' lives were “accurate representations of noteworthy events rather than representations of events which had a moral, symbolic or wider religious significance, there began to be forged a division between truth and falsehood within the public domain which was supported and enacted through government intervention, through the introduction of libel laws and stamp duties on certain types of publications“ (Mills, 1997, 66).

This process builds an archive which is “the set of rules which at a given period and for a definite society defined: the limit of the memory, expressibility, conservation, and reactivation, (Foucault, 1978). These archives are kept in circulation through commentary and dramatization. These limitations efface the aborigines, the Others, and imposes a mirror discourse of the colonial discourse limitations and interests on the challenging Other. In turn, memory, the real, the Palestinian part of the narration is ignored and denied being part of the memory building. This allows for the construction of the “New Palestinian” model; highlighted theme in both newspapers.

Not only the collective and individual memory is under annihilation, but the receiver’s consciousness, knowledge, and ability to contribute to the interpretation of the struggle is also manipulated. Ground-figure alterations and filling in the repertoire with negative images that are used to understand future events are manipulations. “Unless the readers or listeners have access to alternative information, or mental resources to oppose such persuasive messages, the result of such manipulation may be the formation of preferred models of specific situations (e.g., of a ‘race riot’), which may, in turn, be generalized to more general, preferred knowledge, attitudes or ideologies” (Van Dijk, 1996,85).

Under these built structures that work as a manual for constructing colonial discourses, not only both newspapers contribute to building a heterotopia, they raise the question of ideology and racism. Under these limitations, the colonial ideology is a reflection of a structured institutional ideology. Individuals either commit themselves to its discursive limits. Some are allowed under liberal slogans that foster the occidental democratic face of the occupation space for criticism of the performance of the Israeli institution like an army, the occupation,

the violation of the Other rights, but not to the very basic notion of the existence of the colonial regime.

Writers in both newspapers distribute over a wide range of ideologies: the secular and rabbi, female and male journalists, Palestinian Arabs, and Israelis. No differences in the use of these discursive tools were noticed. Only spaces of criticism of performance not the legitimacy of the colonial occupation and justifications for Israeli occupation violations vary from liberal to religious. Under the circulation techniques, racism “will continue to proliferate not only as a part of mass culture, but also (we would do well not to forget it) within polite society, not only in the old settler colonies but also in other areas of the globe, long deserted by Jews and where neither Negroes [Nègres] nor Arabs have ever been seen” (Mbembe, 2016,31).

The produced knowledge would diminish the boundaries between the real and reality, produce new realities and new argumentation that construct “new” and hybrid theatres to negotiate the Israeli Palestinian intractable conflict and deny the historic basis of the conflict and the occupation.

Under a hybrid complex system of frames and sematic and contextual transformations both newspapers destroy contexts, Haaretz tends to rely on the peace and homo festive frames and terror, orientalism with the human and love frames; while Ynet gives much concern to the coexistence frame to other and exclude Palestine. In comparison to Haaretz, Justification is less seeded as Ynet depends on the negative images and the coexistence frame. Elements of the setting of the communicative events are controlled by different participants (Van Dijk, 1996).

Contradicting van Dijk's theorization that "much 'modern' power in democratic societies is persuasive and manipulative rather than coercive (using of force), or incentive", Ynet and Haaretz reporting reveals a set of explicit "issuing of commands, orders, threats or economic sanctions" (Van Dijk, 1988, 85). Discursive disciplinary practices such as incitement, simplification and reduction, threats and orders, justifications and delegation of death can be traced.

The New Other model tends to either construct the New Palestinian under two new age categorizations: the new generations and old generation; under a blending model of Others with limited or no memory about it and about colonialism or under a denial model under a unified vision of the Others categorization as one; under physical annihilation of the Other by expulsion out of the land of Palestine. The New Palestinian is non-existent. Under the new model, Ynet denies the elite internalized complaint subaltern is denied his existence on the land and ordered out.

Both models amplify the social distance between "us" and "them" "under minority frames, under preconditioned integration: accepting the other as saviour, accepting the discursive limits of the colonial project. Both models build upon "excitement and sudden release of excitement which is a common practice of control by "feeding anticipation" (Babin, 1995, 49). This practice has been heavily used in Haaretz and Ynet's reporting of both the non-compliant Other and the daily non-political aspects of the Palestinian females' lives.

Both models lean on a "special processing of the language", power relation and supremacy, and the produced knowledge accordingly to create "an emotional stress followed by a relation which causes entertainment and consequently interest" (ibid, 1995, 49). Emotions are intensified and released. The Haaretz model invests in a love story between child prisoners

while Ynet invests in a radical Israeli “waves rag with a photo of Israeli Arab journalist: 'We'll make the media wash the floors’”. In a different direction, the dramatized processing of the classic model where the fracas in the Israeli Parliament, derogatory language such as “filth” and “scum of the earth, burqini corruption of Arab political parties, an MK making traffic violation or calls for spitting in the face of Arab Israeli police member, rape, incest, abortion, illicit, armed clans, illegal weapons, honour killing, etc and violence are extremely “dramatic as much as major tabloid headlines” (ibid, 1995, 31). They “promote the irrationality of the news by manipulating the dramatized object and turning it into a spectacle” (Ibid. 1995, 49).

The New Model stinking sticks to the colonial discursive limits and starts third. It overrides and ignores the question of the collective and individual grievances of the Palestinian people. The denial not only suggests an effacement of the backgrounds of the Palestinian Israeli conflict but denies the responsibility of the Israeli political i.e. the colonial occupation and suggests transforming the Palestinian political into an internalization of the created mimics as a minority into the system. It does not adhere to a moral attitude of the killing of the Palestinians, judges their intentions “would-be-stabbers” and speaks for them unless the indigenous voices copy the colonial discourse or publicly subjugates to the virtual bodily pressure practiced by the colonial system. It reproduces to some extent Roland Barthes theorization on “The Great Family of Man” (Barthes, 1972). It suggests humanizing the Palestinian adolescents in exchange for accepting new limits for the Palestinian memory. This amputated memory not only decentres the Palestinian and his political project of liberation but also imposes an Israeli colonial Whitened subject that is epistemically cut off his colonial history, rather, as a guardian, a model, and a saviour.

All these Other discursive identity construction procedures were automatically exploited to build the colonial subject identity. Haaretz and Ynet media discourse is found causing “a

narrowing of one's field of vision to exclude a wide range of phenomena from being considered as real or as worthy of attention, or as even existing; thus, delimiting a field is the first stage in establishing a set of discursive practices (Mills, 1997, 51). Different aspects of Palestinian female life other than the emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal event, the ensuing pressures of internalization in the colonial system, and the basic notion of the colonial context and occupation were considered not worth reporting. On the other side, the racism, discrimination, and the emotional, exceptional, extraordinary, and abnormal of the Israeli colonial system especially for the Ultra-Orthodox Jewish community complications and inferiority are denied access to this media discourse.

Then, for discourse or an object to be activated, to be called into existence, the knower has to establish a right for him/herself to speak. Thus, entry into discourse is seen to be inextricably linked to questions of authority and legitimacy. Palestinian non-elite subalterns are excluded, rather tabooed. Non-compliant elite subalterns are allowed access sometimes under a mistranslation of their utterances, where every everything is said in order "to efface everything, to formulate even the least faults in an uninterrupted, desperate, exhaustive murmuring, from which nothing must escape (Foucault, 1979, 84 as cited in Mills, 1997, 81).

This applies when their utterances reveal either subjugation or keenness to the colonial discursive limits. Elite subalterns through the discourse of confession, are allowed full access to discourse. They are living proof of the colonial system's success to create an alternative voice; a mimicry, that either consolidates the colonial narration, supports or reproduces the discursive pressures, or gives models to what this media calls the "New Palestinian". "Each act somehow maps out the possible uses which can be made of that statement, or future rules for its use (although of course, that is not necessarily what happens to it). Each statement

leads to others and, in a sense, it has to have embedded within it the parameters of the possible ways in which future statements can be made” (Mills, 1997, 50-1)

This study proved that “All of these mechanisms for the structuring, constraining and circulation of information have a similar effect: they bring about the production of discourse, but only certain types of discourse ... within certain very clearly delimited and recognized bounds ... that all of the sanctioned utterances and texts are produced within similar discursive constraints.” (ibid, 1997, 75). These figure/ground alterations which depend on “how we interpret objects and events and set them within systems of meaning dependent on discursive structures”, not only the real, the center is redefined; it is decentered (ibid, 1997, 50-1) Haaretz and Ynet are found to surpass the role of ISA's. They tend to use the Foucauldian notion of ‘governmentality’ (Senellart et al., 2009, 108-110). The chosen discursive constructions are found deploying power along with knowledge of minutes of the aborigine’s Palestinian female lives as to represent and speak for them.

The two newspapers, alike the colonial systems, build upon three basic discourse management tools using the Palestinian females “a manual as a representation of the way the letters of a keyboard are standardly arranged”; to regulate the visual and symbolic space and blur differences between the real and the fiction (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, 45). First: preferred knowledge about the indigenous inhabitants and culture, their attitudes or ideologies and how the discourse is ordered; second; producing “less homogeneous and more traversed and troubled by conflicting discourses” making the news texts “open to different interpretations and thus open to resistance” (Mills, 1997, 129). “Limitations that can be related to their choice of data” making of news texts discourse which “seem[s] more homogeneous than it actually is, and naturalises dominant practices” (Fairclough, 1992, 15); third, the Israeli discursive and cultural deposition into an American and Euro-centric model

and Occidentalism that are suggested as well as end-models for judging the alterity of the indigenous; producing a language that the west can understand. This was connected not only to the construction of the colonized identity and the perceiver perception but also to the colonizer's identity factorizing. In the process of apprehending, we categorize and interpret experience and events according to the structures available to us and, in the process of interpretation, we lend these structures a solidity and abnormality which it is often difficult to think outside of the amorous subject draws on a reservoir (the thesaurus?) of figures (Barthes, 1990: 6–7 as cited in Mills, 1997, 129).

The same tools of ‘delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts’ helped to construct the discourse of exceptions (Foucault, 1977, 199). Israel, the colonizer, could accordingly alienate itself from the intractable conflict and build itself, for Carl Schmitt, as an exception; a master, a referee for ingroup conflict management and a ceiling for demands and benefits (under the threat of bio-powers and discursive disciplinary procedures such as simulacra and incitement) (Schmitt, 2009). The criticism of the institution's performance, morals, not understanding the feelings of the others, etc is allowed access to discourse; it is a criticism of performance, not the basic notion of the colonial occupation existence and functioning as an occupying force of the Other and its land. It further asserts the master/slave dichotomy as it portrays the colonial as a saviour.

It is a “saviour”; the discursive constructions suggest. By this, new knowledge is produced; new tools for negotiating reality are approached. Still, it is not compromised between parties that are diametrically far apart and opposite: the colonized and the colonizer, but as a master and slave or subaltern. This leads to decentring both the Israeli colonial occupation outside ethical and legal responsibility and the Palestinian (female) archetype to silence either in

terms of representation or the right to control their bodies; a disputed are and a manhunt of the colonialism. “it is the body of the subaltern that counts as “in both body and flesh” Schmitt says, ”the enemy is that individual whose physical death is warranted by their existential denial of our being” (Mbembe, 2016, 26). It reduced the colonial politics of biopower and violence (symbolic and physical) into spectacle; the Palestinian females into homo festive, the struggle for freedom into an economic and the national political project of liberation into integration project of a minority, an advertised Israeli condition, and a discursive linguistic structure; under semantic transformations, the Palestinian people/ females are reduced and categorized “minority” especially in Haaretz sample. Notwithstanding, it is important to recall that dominance is duplicated “relative to minority groups”. “it is the white group as a whole that has special privileges and access to social resources, including the symbolic resources of communication, whereas the white power elites additionally control the white group at large, by their persuasive influence on the mental conditions (stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies) of the dis- criminatory practices of white group members” (Dijk, 1996, 91).

In other words, Haaretz and Ynet's discursive structures and a hybrid system of classification could turn the political into social and economic. The struggle is shifted from the political into slots, representation, economic and social-economic programs, integration, and spectacle. However, this representative power of the public colonial sphere remains threatened by the resistance of the non-elite subaltern and the restricted understanding of the colonized public argument and struggle. To this end, media discourse is turned into turning the “state of exception” and supremacy into a conflict over-justification and legitimacy to allow for the symbolic annihilation of the other: the non-lite and the non-compliant subaltern (Agamben, 2005). This applies to a wide range of Palestinians (females) who can hardly be integrated and “certain subjects which it is difficult to discuss within Western societies such as death and sex” (Mills, 1997, 64). Discursive pressure on the bodies of the subalterns was

heavily used by both newspapers against those categories within which debates about race were largely conducted and the typologies within which indigenous people and their descendants were forced to be categorized and to categorize themselves and eliminate their efficiency (Young, 1995).

Palestinian females were categorized within a European system of classification which aimed to be a global system (Pratt, 1992). The colonial project aimed to demonstrate the ‘civilizing’ force of colonialism. within a cosmological and symbolic system” (Mills, 1997). Palestinian females were extracted from their original classification system as political actors and judged as Euro-centric which did not simply rename the Palestinian females, but also annihilated the indigenous knowledge; transforming it into colonial knowledge (Mills, 1994).

Being oppositional and subversive might explain the overthrow of the “repressive power relations; it is difficult at a theoretical level to account for the fact that revolutions do take place” (Mills, 1997, 41). Women are not passive in power: the individual versus the institutional. By such means, they negotiate the colonial discursive boundaries on the Other and the silence imposed on the aborigines. Sexism, under colonialism and the Israeli media discourses, is an ideological category where they are passive victims of oppression; where no other opposite ideologies are allowed to be experienced (Mills, 1992). These media discourses would enforce the Other to rebel against their status quo by creating “certain types of counter-cultural images” of the colonized that affirms their identity (Mills, 1997, 87, 91). Simulacra either subjectifies the colonized females under disciplinary procedures or is an open invitation to rebel; discourse theory enables an understanding of this.

Simulacra under which stereotypes, negative images, value-laden words, generalizations, double incitement of the Israeli institutions and elite subalterns including relatives and threat

by a long list of punishments were worked out under oriental, terror, and occidental frames. To elucidate, the produced knowledge sets more reality negotiating approaches and redefines the real by transforming the Palestinian elite subalterns from a revolutionary power to symbolic decentred power. This conflict over hegemony, and discursive hegemony, naturalizes the discursive use of the concept of “the surveillance or security state” which “can be seen to feed on a state of insecurity (Mbembe, 2016, 29). Domestic pacification, what might be termed a molecular or ‘silent civil war’, mass incarcerations, the decoupling of nationality from citizenship, extrajudicial executions sanctioned by new legal and criminal powers – all these factors contribute to a blurring of the old distinction between internal and external security against a background of heightened racist affects” (Mbembe, 2016, 29-30). On the other hand, Haaretz and Ynet are raced fostering the Palestinian female character poisoning by molding them into simulacra, terror frames, and inferiority; and sometimes out the borders of humanity. The first deconstructs the image of the original prototype and reproduces it through festive and spectacle as a challenging; an archetype other with a new set of values that are proposed through peaceful demonstrations and cinema inter alia other manifestations highlighted through the sample. The “New Palestinian” becomes an end goal for the discursive limitations and constraints where the narration starts second all the time; where memory is shaved off. By this, the “symbolic power” of the colonial institution is magnified through Haaretz and Ynet’s discursive choices. They contribute to constructing reality and giving a pre-set meaning to the world of the Palestinian females (Bourdieu, 1991,166,170). Both newspapers “seek to form and transform their visions of the world and thereby the world itself” and mediate between the authority and people by preserving the right to commentary and controlling access to discourse. By producing “commentaries of various kinds” both newspapers are “continuously engaged in a labor of representation by which they seek to construct and impose a particular vision of the social world. while at the

same time seeking to mobilize the support of those upon whom their power ultimately depends” and to justify and legitimize the Israeli colonial practices (Bourdieu, 1991,26).

Differences lie in the distribution of the deployment of the discursive structures over the news texts. In terms of linguistic structures, there is a slight difference in use. As for intertextuality and framing preferences, Haaretz tends to use more liberal frames such as peace and homo festive frames where Ynet uses the terror under the coexistence frame. Under the limits of the discursive “structure of opportunities for material or symbolic profit which the different forms of discourse can procure for different producer according to their position”, a hybrid system of Other management and classification was produced (Bourdieu, 1991, 137-138).

The discourse is built. It works as a mirror of the colonial ideology in terms of existence and commitment to the discursive limits and use of tools of circulation. Still, their discursive structure reflects a shift in the colonial traditional physical power to soft power; domination. “All forms of power, including our democracies, sit on a continuum in which such symbolic investments can be seen to correspond with a gain in speed and force. Power is always in some sense a mode of confrontation with the statue [la statue], while investment in femininity and maternity serve to orient sexual pleasure towards a politics of rapture, whether secular or not yet” (Mbembe, 2016,32).

Life conditions of the Palestinian female subalterns have not changed despite their compliance; a precondition for their access to the Haaretz and Ynet discourses. They are reproduced under the same jobs as their struggle against society does. The Israeli institution relocates them in the educational and care services, the sample reveals. The economic situation is indifferent; reasons are unclear despite the Israeli government creating more

industrial zones (prosperity of Israelis) and plans; the sample in both newspapers tells. It is only that the subalterns are reproduced in order to objectify them and evacuate the center.

The two newspapers managed to foster an argumentative colonial trend under Hegemony for Foucault, biopower and symbolic annihilation for Mbembe and Bourdieu; and cultural domination for Gramsci (2000). It serves to concentrate and legitimize violence, whiten colonialism and create new theaters for negotiating reality. They build upon a quadric paradigm:

- Instituting a linguistic and hegemonic discursive construction under simulacra, virtual bodily pressure, and control of access to discourse. These discourses, often kept in circulation, both foster the idea of the savior – the master, justify racism, discrimination, and the interference in the Other life under the pretext of updating their status. Criticism of the institution performance, morals, not understanding the feelings of the others, etc. is allowed access to discourse; it is a criticism of performance not the basic notion of the colonial occupation existence and functioning as an occupying force of the Other and its land. It further asserts the master/slave dichotomy as it portrays the colonial as a savior.

- Establishing for the concept of security and supremacy state, a state of exception. This legitimizes hegemony and justifying “killing” the Other and symbolic annihilation and interplay the inclusion/exclusion processes.

- Institutionalization of Israel as both Occidental and West as an end model for judging the “primitive” Other. This creates models for consumption in the West. It further whitens the colonialism and suggests an Israeli-centric model for the instituted Other as a minority.

- Instituting the conflict from the classic form to post-modern manifestation which relies on spectacle, loyalty to the Israeli colonial state (a blatant concern of Haaretz), and improving the life of subalterns under the umbrella of reduction and simplification. As for

the new perspective, A new Palestinian Other Model is proposed; inclusion and exclusion, two extremes are emotionally amplified. All major questions and events including the Israeli colonial atrocities and killing are reduced into mitigated forms under semantic alteration, the primacy of interdiscursivity and intertextuality, knowledge, discursive instantiation, and context destruction; the colonized subjects are turned into cases.

The news coverage never allows the Palestinian women in both newspapers to confess. Their narration is excluded and often told by others. More to this, “displaying and constructing a compliant subject who accepts all difficulties as a sign of the need for greater subjection to the colonial power” makes a further shift to the feminist theory on the Foucauldian confession. Added to this confessional discourse, Palestinian females who are described as terrorists, inferior, etc “accrues a certain amount of power to herself because of her position within the non-conformist sect to which she belonged” as oppositional and subversive” (Mills, 1997, 104).

Haaretz and Ynet contribute to the creation of a **heterotopia**. By this translation of the discursive tools under the colonial condition and representation through simulacra, the virtual passing turns into a heterotopia of reduction and annihilation for the colonized; simultaneously, it still works as a heterophobia for compensation, a paradise, or what I prefer to call: a heterotopia of Occidentalism and Otherization - a perfectionnalization space, for the colonizer.

Both the Haaretz peace frame or the Ynet Coexistence frame attempts to decolonize the Israeli occupation. Nothing better than Franz Fanon's quote makes this clear.

“The colonial world is a world cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations. In the colonies it is the policeman and the soldier who are the official, instituted go betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression. In capitalist societies the educational system, whether lay or clerical, the structure of moral reflexes handed down from father to son, the exemplary honesty of workers who are given a medal after fifty years of good and loyal service, and the affection which springs from harmonious relations and good behavior — all these esthetic expressions of respect for the established order serve to create around the exploited person an atmosphere of submission and of inhibition which lightens the task of policing considerably. In the capitalist countries a multitude of moral teachers, counsellors and “bewilderers” separate the exploited from those in power. In the colonial countries, on the contrary, the policeman and the soldier, by their immediate presence and their frequent and direct action maintain contact with the native and advise him by means of rifle-butts and napalm not to budge. It is obvious here that the agents of government speak the language of pure force. The intermediary does not lighten the oppression, nor seek to hide the domination; he shows them up and puts them into practice with the clear conscience of an upholder of the peace; yet he is the bringer of violence into the home and into the mind of the native” (Fanon, 1963, 18-19)

To sum, hegemonic discursive structures in both newspapers are structured. Differences can be attributed to ideological preferences. Generally speaking, both newspaper’s discourses are highly dramatized; emotional, exceptional, extraordinary and abnormal events are chosen and amplified. Time placement is reversed to support the discursive tools under each categorization. The Western-end goal model and Occidentalism run through the sample under both models. This applies to semantic transformations which are used to make tremendous contextual shifts and / or make ground figure alterations.

As for the classic model, Haaretz constructs the Other through but limited to ambivalence, exclusion, preserving the right to commentary, stereotypes and generalization, semantic transformations under different frames such as the oriental and terror frames. The challenging

Other is constructed through but limited to mimicry, confessional discourse, and inclusion to discourse without allowing the archetype to disturb, metaphors inter alia other structures. It is erected under, but not limited to the peace and homo-festive frames. The non-compliant other is constructed through but limited to discursive bodily pressure and disciplinary procedures, simulacra, selective labelling, and nomenclature. Ynet constructs the Other through but is limited to the terror, oriental and psychological frames. The coexistence frame is amplified. Fewer justifications are provided in comparison to Haaretz's construction of the same categorization. Noticeably, contextual shifts are realized through changing the topic. Irrelevant issues are reported under this categorization. Challenging the other is constructed through mimicry, contextual transformations; contexts are destroyed either by semantic transformations or shifts. The Challenging others are turned into a spectacle. Comparisons under an Israeli-centric approach are triggered where social distance and supremacy are preserved. The victim is often blamed. Ynet constructs the non-compliant Other through nomenclature and selective labelling, commands, value-laden words, mediation, simulacra, and objectification. Symbolic and physical violence is discursively generated. This categorization is often denied access to discourse; if allowed access, their concerns are simplified and ignored. They are spectacted under a power matrix that creates contradictions between the powerful and the weak; master and slave.

As for the new model, the other, the new generation, is constructed through false-positive images and contextual transformations. the occupation is transplanted a human face, a foreign escape-goat is discursively contracted to escort the Israeli occupation responsibility of atrocities and blaming the victim. No visible discursive bodily pressure is used; notwithstanding, concerns of the Other are ignored and silenced where silence is a discursive pressure. Confessional discourse plays a major role in the Other figure construction.

Limitation of memory discursive supporting tools is used. This is worked out in a vacuum deposited shape-memory frame. The old generation is Other following the classic model they are worked out under a melting frame. This applies to Ynet where bodily pressure, selective labelling, and nomenclature are used under a denial frame; else the new generation is produced under a vacuum-deposited shape-memory frame.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

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This chapter contains conclusions, limitations, and recommendations. It relists hypothesis and findings and outcomes or for additional research.

The study pursued an understanding of the internal mechanisms regulating the visual and symbolic space and knowledge production on the Palestinian colonized female Other; a discursive subject. It investigated the Israeli news reporting of the Palestinian females to understand how racism or ethnic-racial dominance is reproduced through an institutional ideology/power-resolved discursive limitations and constraints to construct and deactivate the colorized Other.

In a similar path, it questioned how the Israeli occupation authorities, a de-facto colonial power, interwinds gendered discourses and speaks for the Other. Furthermore, it considers how the produced knowledge sets more reality negotiating approaches, redefines the real, inter-plays the gestalt of the Palestinian Israeli conflict, and manipulates mental models to legitimize violence; whiten colonialism and create new theatres for negotiating reality. With attention, the study explored systems of support and circulation, categorization, and classification mechanisms. It questions how the truth is ritualized and materialized.

Building upon the Foucauldian discursive abstractions, in particular, new approaches to framing through knowledge/power resolved discursive constructions, argumentation, and dramatization reveal special patterns of discursive constructions. This study sought to dismantle the discursive borders and structures that perpetuate hegemony by dealing with colonialism as a performative act, that is, not only a mirror of hegemony but rather a factory

of the discursive Subjects. It pursues the linguistic patterns and circulation mechanisms that re-represent and “depict” the other. The acute concept of depiction suggests a “transformation of the continuum, the inorganic, the amorphous and the formless into a cultural subject” and thus “giving a meaning”, “factorizing a meaning”, “producing and circulating significations” or “re-presentation” (Bin Karad, 2007). Through articulation and discursive coercive impositions, the continuum causes displacements of significations. Accordingly, language transforms into a factory of the discursive Other. It re-presents the racial identities of the subalterns and works in parallel to create new relations between the signifiers and the signified.

The research methodology aimed at reconstructing the internal logic of the media texts, for Bin Karad, texts that “develop in multiple directions and nevertheless offers the possibility of being described” i.e. seeking to deconstruct the production of meaning or re-presentation through multiple chains of references that give an excess of meaning, which necessarily means the transformation of the semiosis or the process of producing meaning into a “game where rules are known from the beginning”; into “semantic sanctuaries” which must be revealed (Bin Karad, 2007). It operates in a colonial context that is silenced as "meaning can only become visible in relation to the system that factorized it." (Derrida, 2016, 71)

The study sets a quadric set of hypotheses: The Israeli media embeds a model of power relations that builds upon an innovative regime of in-text framing tools, The Israeli media embeds a regime of ethnic-racist, discursively constitutes for exclusion which involves in the Othering industry. It delimitates the Other and defines a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, The Israeli media has fixed norms for the elaboration of identities and validation of territorial claims and denial of the “other”; while feeding on and factorizing symbolic violence. The colonial ideological-resolved discursive depiction of the Palestinian

woman gives evidence to power-resolved practices to addresses deeper aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and supports both Israeli territorial claims and statements of denial. Salient difference the Israeli media discourse structure in right and left-wing newspapers is proved. Discourse is structured, hegemonic, and ground rooted in terms of exclusion/inclusion or access to discourse in alia plethora of discursive constructions and constraints.

The study found that the Other is constructed through syntactic structures: time-placements including distant past tense and ethnographic present', passive/ active structures, pronouns and semantic structures including Generalizations, Nomenclature: Value-laden statements, negative images, and stereotypes. Linguistic and semantic structures are analyzed to understand how epistemes are constructed. The repetitiveness of certain types of event-sequences which embody statements and primacy of interdiscursivity and intertextuality are pursued. Relations, visual images, representations, and identity fabrications take place under hegemonic colonial power relations. The Israeli colonial model of power relations reveals subjection in its material instance and constitutes the colonized subjects. Simulacra, mimicry, amplification, simplification, and selectivity are part of the cogs of the order of the internal orchestrating discursive constructions that capture, change the frame, and visualize the Palestinian females.

Under hegemonic colonial discursive structures, limitations, and speaking for the Palestinian Other, Haaretz and Ynet construct the real where "objects and events appear to us to be real or material" (Mills,1997, 51). The representations' structure constituted and/or delimited objects for us under pressure practices on the visual bodies of the Palestinian female non-elite and non-compliant elite subalterns. Both newspapers mediate between the Israeli colonial authority and people and the "discursive formats ... which accrued truth-value to

themselves through usage and familiarity” (Mills, 1997, 107). The produced knowledge resulted in creating a **heterotopia** and alteration of the Gestalt of the conflict. Figure/ground alterations can be traced not only through inclusion, exclusion, and turn shift control and interplay but also through semantic and contextual transformations. Under these transformations, the real undergoes “Face” implantation; mimics are produced. The non-compliant elite subalterns are constructed under bodily pressure. Accordingly, the contextual shifts, destruction of contexts, discourse of confession would produce epistemic cuts with the Palestinian prototype. The centre is decentred. The archetype - an alternative voice- is installed and cantered; allowing for new platforms for negotiating the real. This invalidates the critique to the very basic notion of materiality as the signs in Haaretz and Ynet’s are allowed to swallow up their referents.

Haaretz and Yet media use the same discursive tools; differences are a matter of preferences - ideological, where ideology is a copy of institutional discursive limitations and constraints. The weight distribution of these discursive tools makes the difference as for both newspapers.

## **Recommendations**

Further studies can investigate the hegemonic discursive tools at different timescales of the Palestinians/ Palestinian females struggle against the Israeli occupation before Nakhba and present. This would examine the systematicity of the ethno-racist Israeli colonial constructions as for power relationships; and identity and reality constructions.

Further research can examine other journalistic types such as photos, and videos, opinionnaires, etc.; and other fields such as visual and social media. The Israeli pedagogical and religious discourse can be areas of investigation for future research work. Drawing on our discussion of the literature review, further studies can investigate the representations of Palestinian females in the Israeli academic writings under the hypothesis that these writings remain part of the Israeli Colonial Discourse.

Further studies can investigate the social distance between the colonized and the colonizer; particularly as for the challenging Other; an internalized compliant elite. This can be cultivated both through text and photo analysis.

Further studies can examine the digital and external mental power mediation procedures for better cyberspace hegemonic practices cultivation. Our analysis of digital publication behavior patterns of this study's sample reveals that articles that double appeared on each of the newspapers' websites. Many articles were updated in 2018. In writing to digital media, update brings back news to the interface, and gives life. The audience size and access to discourse are amplified through consecutive and regular publishing of the news texts onto social media. This is deemed important as it touches upon the Foucauldian notion of circulation as a hegemonic discursive tool; or what he calls: a circulation of discourse in "time". This can add to the Foucauldian supporting mechanisms and circulation of the discourse.

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